



# US-China Foreign Language

Volume 12, Number 5, May 2014

ISSN 1539-8080 (Print)

ISSN 1935-9667 (Online)

# **US-China Foreign Language**

Volume 12, Number 5, May 2014 (Serial Number 128)



David Publishing Company  
[www.davidpublishing.com](http://www.davidpublishing.com)

**Publication Information:**

*US-China Foreign Language* is published monthly in hard copy (ISSN 1539-8080) and online (ISSN 1935-9667) by David Publishing Company located at 240 Nagle Avenue #15C, New York, NY 10034, USA.

**Aims and Scope:**

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**Editorial Office:**

240 Nagle Avenue #15C, New York, NY 10034, USA

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**Abstracted/Indexed in:**

Database of EBSCO, Massachusetts, USA

ProQuest Research Library, UK

OCLC (Online Computer Library Center, Inc.), USA

LLBA database of CSA (Cambridge Scientific Abstracts), USA

Ulrich's Periodicals Directory

Chinese Database of CEPS, Airiti Inc., Taiwan

Chinese Scientific Journals Database, VIP Corporation, Chongqing, P.R.C.

Summon Serials Solutions

Google Scholar

J-Gate

Academic Keys

Electronic Journals Library

Publicon Science Index

SJournal Index

**Subscription Information:**

Price (per year):

Print \$520 Online \$300

Print and Online \$560

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240 Nagle Avenue #15C, New York, NY 10034, USA

Tel: 1-323-984-7526, 323-410-1082. Fax: 1-323-984-7374, 323-908-0457

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## Contents

### Linguistic Research

- Jordanian Bengali Pidgin Arabic** 331  
*Fawwaz Al-Abed Al-Haq, Ibrahim Al-Salman*
- The Head of the Chinese Adjectives and ABB Reduplication** 349  
*WANG Zhi-jun*
- Ideological Foundations of the Igbo Oral Proverbs Translations of Achebe in *TFA* (*Things Fall Apart*)** 360  
*Emeka C. Ifesieh*
- Participatory Framework Invoked by Processing-Motivated Filler *Zhege* ('This-CL') in Chinese Conversations: An Embodied Perspective** 370  
*YANG Zhu*
- Chat Alert! Language in Danger? On the Chat Language of Flemish Adolescents and Young Adults** 384  
*Ester Magis*

### Teaching Theory & Practice

- An Empirical Research on Chinese Teachers Transition to US Schools: Pedagogical Implications and Teacher Training Program** 391  
*LIU Xue-mei*
- On Metadiscoursal Features of Chinese University Students' Oral English: A Perspective From Chunks** 402  
*LIN Wei-yan*

## **Literary Criticism & Appreciation**

**An Appreciation of James Joyce's Writing Methods in "Eveline"** 411

*WANG Xiao-yan*

**On *Yijing* in Chinese and English Nature Poetry: The Case Study of Wordsworth and  
WANG Wei** 415

*BAI Li-bing*

**Theory of Mind and the Unreliable Narrator** 422

*LIU Xiao-yan*

**A Brief Contrast Between "Unfreeze Literature" in the Former Soviet Union and  
"Baihua Literature" in China** 429

*SUN Ying, ZHU Ping*

## **Special Research**

**Semiotic and Dance: An Analysis of the Ballet *Nazareth*** 435

*Siane Paula de Araújo*

# Jordanian Bengali Pidgin Arabic

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This study aims at providing a linguistic description of the JBPA (Jordanian Bengali Pidgin Arabic) which is a variety in use between the Bengali workers and Jordanians who live and work in Al-Hassan Industrial City, Irbid, in the north of Jordan. The primary purpose of this study was to find out whether or not this variety constituted a true pidgin. Data collection was based on interviews with 10 Bengalis. To identify this variety, the author examined it with reference to three linguistic features of the JA (Jordanian Arabic): the phonology, the verbal system, and the negation. The study revealed that the phonology of JBPA was not fully compatible with that of the JA, and that most of the JA sounds tended to change their phonological behavior in the JBPA. In addition, the verb was invariant and simplified; also, the negation in the JBPA was realized by three negative particles: *mafiš*, ‘ma, and ‘muš’. Finally, the study revealed that the JBPA has the characteristics of a “pre-pidgin” rather than a “stable pidgin”.

*Keywords:* Jordanian Pidgin Arabic, Arabic-based pidgins, pidgin Arabic

## Introduction

### Jordan at a Glance

Jordan or “The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan” is one of the Levantine countries in the Middle East. The official language of Jordan is Arabic. Jordanian Arabic (henceforth, JA) is a dialect of so many dialects in the Levant which includes the dialects of Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, and Palestine (Habash, 2006, pp. 12-15); differences among these dialects, however, are minimal, i.e., linguistic differences are basically found on the phonological and lexical levels. In JA, subdialects also exist; these subdialects are divided into three: UD (urban dialect), RD (rural dialect), and BD (Bedouin dialect) (for the purpose of this study, the author depended on the RD).

Actually, during the last few decades, several agreements have been held between the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan and some non-Arabic countries mainly on the level of trade. These agreements have given people from different countries of the world the chance to come to Jordan for work. The continuous flow of many non-Arabic speaking workers into Jordan, in addition to the urgent need to interact with Jordanians on a daily basis and at all places has demanded them to, maybe unconsciously, create a new simplified and reduced variety of JA that can be used as a means of communication when speaking to Jordanians. This article, therefore, attempts to provide a linguistic description of this variety, which the author presumed to be a “pidgin”, and which the author called “Jordanian Bengali Pidgin Arabic” (henceforth, JBPA); the article describes the JBPA variety with reference to three linguistic features: (1) the phonology; (2) the verbal system; and (3) the negation.

### **Definition of a Pidgin**

Unfortunately, there is no one single definition of “pidgin” approved by scholars. For this study, anyway, the author shall adopt the definition given by Swann, Deumert, Lillis, and Mesthrie (2004) which defines a pidgin as a new and initially simple form of language that arises when two or more groups of people who do not share a common language come into contact with each other. Usually, pidgins evolve from an initial state called “a pre-pidgin” or “jargon” whose grammar is reduced and simplified; the process of forming a pidgin is called “Pidginization”.

Usually, there are two or more languages out of which a pidgin is created: One is called the superstrate language whose speakers are powerful in society; the other is the substrate language(s) whose speakers are usually less powerful and who are, in most of the cases, unintelligible by the dominant group (Holm, 2000, p. 5). The superstrate language is believed to be the supplier of the lexicon of the pidgin (therefore, it is called the “lexifier language”). The substrate language, on the other hand, provides the grammar of the pidgin (Swann et al., 2004).

However, as a new generation comes, a pidgin may develop in different ways (e.g., Tok Pisin, Papua New Guinea). In the case where a pidgin is the only common language of a community, “it will be acquired by locally born children and will then become a fully developed language” (Bickerton, 1990, p. 120), leading to the creation of a Creole. The process by which a pidgin develops into a Creole is called “creolization”; this process includes the extension of the pidgin’s grammatical and lexical inventory to serve in all the domains of life and to become an official language. Hall (1966, p. 126) argued that pidgins have a “life-cycle” where they are created in a specific situation for an emergent need, and die out soon after the need for them has been fulfilled.

In fact, there are some characteristics that distinguish pidgins from other “normal languages”. For example, pidgins lack grammatical complexity and have limited lexical stock; besides, pidgins lack copulas, have a constrained number of appositions and have no sentential embedding (Hymes, 1971, pp. 65-90). Moreover, reduction of the lexicon, unmarkedness of gender, case, number, and tense are of the main characteristics of pidgins (McMahon, 1994, pp. 258-259). Pidgins also lack stylistic options, puns, and metaphors, and have few sociolinguistic markers, such as politeness phenomena (McMahon, 1994, pp. 258-259). On the level of phonology, the consonant inventory in pidgins is usually reduced. Similarly, vowels are usually fewer than their lexifier counterparts, and length distinction is lost (McMahon, 1994, p. 260).

### **FT (Foreigner Talk)**

FT, a term coined by Ferguson (1971), supposes that the similarities among PCs (pidgins and creoles) are due to the simplification on the part of the target (superstrate) language speakers as a way to communicate with the non-native speakers of their language. Actually, the social gap is much relevant to this context. Valdman (1981) argued that “the use of FT signals to foreigners that they are unwanted guests whose acculturation to the host community is not desired” (p. 43). In fact, Ferguson argued that FT helps in the formation of the so-called “a pre-pidgin”.

In much the same way is the baby-talk theory, a theory coined by Bloomfield (1933), which refers to “the simplified language used by adults in order to communicate with children” (Vicente, 2007, p. 18).

### **Previous Related Studies**

In this part of the paper, the author has discussed two types of pidgin studies: Arabic-based pidgins and English-based pidgins.

**Arabic-based pidgins.** One of the studies on Arabic-based pidgins is Smart's (1990) of the Gulf Pidgin Arabic (henceforth, GPA). Smart studied the GPA to find out if this variety can really be classified as a pidgin. He based his study on some cartoon captions in Gulf newspapers in which Arab journalists imitate the language of the workers. Smart divided the GPA verb into three types: the Y(v)—prefixed type, the unstable type, and the unprefix type. He also claimed that *fī* in GPA is used as a copula. Smart stated that GPA speakers use the Gulf Arabic particles to negate nouns and adjectives with *mū/mub* and verbs with *ma*.

Another study on Arabic-lexified pidgins is the one conducted by Tosco (1995) in which he examined the verbal system in JA (Juba Arabic). He concluded that JA speakers use three basic verbal markers: *kan*, *bi* (marks the future, eventuality, and conditionality), and *ge* (conveys the meaning of continuative and habitual meaning), adding that *kan* is assigned to the non-core markers, while the last two are assigned to the role of core verbal markers.

Tosco also proposed that JA imperative verbs are distinguished from the declarative ones in terms of intonation, and that the negative imperative takes the person marker *ta* for singular and *takum* for plural and that both come after the negation.

Bakir (2010) also studied the verbal system in GPA. His material included some data collected by conducting interviews with some Asian expatriates whose native languages are non-Arabic. He concluded that the verb in GPA is unmarked for tense, person, aspect, gender, and number, and that only one form is used to indicate difference in tense, aspect, mood, and voice. He claimed that the common verb used in GPA is the 3rd singular masculine imperfect form: *yiǰi* “come”, *yabi* “want” (with a variant *yibga*), and *yaakid* “take”, being used for first person, second person singular masculine, and feminine, and third person plural subjects in addition to different references to past and future; he added that tense can only be inferred from context or by the existence of some adverbs of time; here are some examples (see Examples (1)-(2)):

Example (1) ?anaa yabi...

1SG want

“I want...”

Example (2) baačir ?anaa yabi...

tomorrow 1SG want

“Tomorrow, I want...”

Bakir (2010) also stated that aspect markers are absent, and that GPA speakers use *fī* to make a progressive verb. Modality, Bakir adds, is expressed by the auxiliaries *lāzim* (used for necessity and obligation), and *mumkin* (used for possibility), whereas futurity is indicated by the modal “rūh”. Regarding the negation system in GPA, Bakir concludes that the particle “māfi” is used to negate “existential and equational sentences”, and the sentences with main verbs (see Example (3)):

Example (3) ?ana māfi nōm

1SG. NEG. sleep

“I don’t sleep”

Avram (2010) described a pidginized variety of Arabic used by Romanian and Arab oil workers in Iraq, which he calls “Romanian Pidgin Arabic” (henceforth, RPA). He collected his data by recording some speeches during his fieldwork in Kut (Eastern Iraq) and Rashdiya (north of Baghdad), and by conducting some interviews. On the level of phonology, Avram (2010) claimed that the velar voiceless fricative /ħ/ is replaced by /h/ in



word-initial position, and by /h/, /a/, or  $\emptyset$  in a word final position; besides, the pharyngeal voiceless fricative /x/ is replaced by /h/, whereas the voiced velar fricative /g/ is realized as /g/, and the emphatic sounds are replaced by their non-emphatic counterparts. The verbal system, Avram concludes, is invariant in form in RPA, and tense, aspect markers and the copula are absent in RPA.

Næss (2008) tried to explore the linguistic features of GPA in order to find out whether or not the GPA constitutes a “true pidgin”, or is just considered as “an individual strategy” used by Asian immigrant workers in order to ease the process of communication (interlanguage).

In his study, Næss (2008) concluded that the basic phonetic inventory in GPA is reduced compared to that of the Gulf Arabic (29 consonants are reduced into 18, and distinction in vowel length is absent).

With reference to the GPA negation system, Næss (2008) argued that two negative markers are used: “ma”, used in front of verbs as well as in front of the expletive *fī*; and the particle “mafi”, used for non-verbal negation as well as for imperative verbs. Here are some examples:

Example of the negation of non-imperative verbs includes (see Example (4)):

Example (4) bādēn ana gūl hāda bāba, ana ma tibba istogol  
 then 1SG say DEM boss 1SG NEG want work  
 “Then I told my boss that I wanted to quit”

Another example that explains negation of adjectives is the following (see Example (5)):

Example (5) minni mafi tamām  
 here NEG nice  
 “This place isn’t nice”

Considering the verbal system, Næss (2008) concluded that it is simplified, and that tense is implicit or marked by adverbs. He also said that *fī* is used as a progressive aspect marker. He added, “the light verb *sawwi* is common in the variety, and can be used to form compound verbs with nouns and adjectives” (p. 93).

**English-based pidgins.** Leechman and Hall (1955) examined the American Indian Pidgin English (henceforth, AIPE), a variety used between Indians and the whites. They provide attestations of the AIPE from various sources in which the whites use a pidginized variety of English in speaking with Indians, and try to analyze its grammatical features. However, their study is only concerned with the linguistic features of the non StdE (Standard English). Some of the grammatical features of the AIPE they provide include the replacement of fricatives by stops, the use of a single verb form derived from the English verb form, and the equational predicate. Here are two examples (see Examples (6)-(7)):

Example (6) “you be de white man, you have soul; when we die we fling in water, big fish come carry us to an oder place, den we live dare and die agen, and... oder place”

Example (7) “Man, brave man, no cheat Indian. Indian no cheat white man”

In conclusion, Leechman and Hall (1955) stressed that AIPE, like any other English-based pidgin, basically presents the features of linguistic reduction and restructuring.

For the GhPE (Ghanaian Pidgin English), Huber (1999) tried to provide an outline of the grammar of the variety used by the uneducated group in Ghana, as opposed to the educated one. He based his description on data collected during field trips to Ghana in 1995, 1996, and 1999. His data consists of about 30 hour recorded speeches from different substrate languages, such as English (de facto), Akan, Dangme, Nzema, Gonja, etc.

Regarding the GhPE's phonology, /v/ is more or less consistently substituted by /b/ or /f/ in GhPE; also, the approximants [l] and [r] are in free variation in the major Ghanaian substrate languages. Vowels with regard to /i/ and /u/ are not distinctive.

Huber (1999), in addition, provided an overview of the tense/aspect and mood of the GhPE. For the tense/aspect, he presented five forms: zero, *dè* (Progressive/habitual), *kam* (sequential tense), *bigin* (*dè*) (ingressive), and *finiš* (completive). For the mood, he provided four forms: *gò* (future/ conditional), *fit* (ability/ permission), *fò* (deontic modality), and *wan* (intentionalis), proposing that tense/aspect and mood can be put together forming complex structures such as "futureability/permission" (e.g., *gò fit*). Regarding verbal negation, Huber (1999) stated that it is expressed by *no*, which takes the first position in the verb phrase, before the mood/aspect markers.

He concluded that this variety can be considered a specific GhPE that is complex and similar to other WAPes (West African pidgins of English).

Roberts and Bresnan (2008) conducted a study on the retained inflectional morphology in pidgins. Their study includes 29 languages that are either pidgins or were pidgins in their early stages. Actually, they claimed that the loss of inflectional morphology in pidgins could be partial rather than total; i.e., lexifier inflections instead follow a continuum of reduction: full retention—partial retention—partial lexicalization—full lexicalization—full loss, where the first two are considered retentions in their study, whereas the other outcomes result in substantial loss of semantic content. Additionally, they stressed that the process of inflectional simplification or reduction are strategies used to give an explanation to the difficulties of learning a new language for the purpose of saving time and effort.

Siegel (2009) studied the CPE (Chinese Pidgin English) in Australia by collecting his data from a 70-page notebook written in English in the ninth century by a Chinese gold miner. He introduced some morphological features found in CPE, such as *go* (auxiliary), *got* (possessive or existential marker), *man* (pronominal suffix), *no* (preverbal negative marker). An example on *got* where it is used as an existential marker is Example (8):

Example (8) got Chinaman river edge walk

"There's a Chineseman walking along the river's edge"

Akande (2010) also investigated the verb phrase in the NPE (Nigerian Pidgin English). He attempted to find out whether or not this variety is a pidgin that is separate from English. He collected his data from some recorded interviews with 30 Nigerian University Graduates from three ethnolinguistic regions; he gave them 36 prompt sentences. Actually, Akande distinguishes between NPE and StdE on the basis of the complex verb phrases used in them, and summarized that the NPE is a distinct variety that has its independent structures, mentioning that only a few similarities exist between the varieties in comparison.

## Methods and Procedures

### Population of the Study

The population of the study consisted of the Bengali workers in Al-Hassan Industrial City in Irbid in the north of Jordan. Most, if not all, of those Bengali workers live in Ar-Ramtha district in the north of Jordan. The estimated total number of Bengalis in Al-Hassan Industrial City was 250.

### Sample of the Study

The sample of the study included 10 participants, all of whom were males. The reason why women were not considered in this study is that my access to them was not possible. The participants' level of education was elementary, except for one who was an engineer. The subjects' ages ranged between 23 to 44, while their stays in Jordan ranged between three to eight years.

### Data Collection

The author collected data by recording interviews with Bengalis workers in Al-Hassan Industrial City in Irbid. The author used an advanced mobile phone which was tested before conducting each interview to ensure its voice quality. In fact, to make sure that no interruption or noise of any sort was made, the author preferred to make the interviews at the subjects' living places in Ar-Ramtha district (only two were interviewed at the workplace).

To gather the data, the author developed a list of personal questions which the author asked to the subjects. The recorded data was about four-hour long. For ethicality, the author made sure to inform each participant of the nature of my project, and then asking them if they wanted to participate in this project by conducting interviews in JA variety as being recorded.

### Data Analysis

Actually, the author based his analysis on the interviews' recordings' transcripts. The data collected from the recorded interviews was analyzed and described in terms of phonology, negation, and the verbal system. The method the author used in analyzing the data was the qualitative method which is a descriptive method rather than statistical.

## Discussion and Findings

The following description of the JBPA is based on Næss (2008).

### Phonology

**The phonology of JA. Consonants.** There are 29 consonants in JA. Table 1, which is a modified version of the one given by Næss (2008, p. 28), illustrates these consonants.

Table 1

#### JA Consonants

		Bilabial	Labio-dental	Inter-dental	Interdental emphatic	Alveolar	Alveolar emphatic	Pal-ata-ls	Velar	Uvular	Phary-ngeal	Glottal
Stops	VL VD	b				t d	ṭ		k q g			ʔ
Fricatives	VL VD		f	θ ð	ð	s z	ṣ	š		x ġ	ħ ʕ	h
Affricates	VL VD							č ǰ ʒ				
Nasals	VD	m				n						
Tap	VD					r						
Approximants	VD					l		j	w			

The speakers of JA use these sounds in spoken, written and even Standard Arabic. However, phonological variation among Jordanian dialects does exist. For example, in the UD the velar voiceless stop /k/ is usually replaced by /č/. Additionally, the voiceless stop /g/ is sometimes substituted with the glottal stop /ʔ/ in the UD (e.g., “galam” “pen” becomes *ʔalam*); besides, the interdental voiced fricative /ð/ is pronounced as /d/ in the RD and as /d/ in the UD in some words (e.g., *hāḏa* “this” becomes *hāḏa* in RD; and *hada* in UD); also, the glottal stop /ʔ/ as /ħ/ in a word-medial position in all Levantine vernaculars (e.g., *bi ʔr* “wall” becomes *bēr*) (Sawāḥi, 2009, p. 6).

**Vowels.** There are 10 vowels in JA, which can be seen in Table 2.

Table 2

*JA Short and Long Vowels*

		Front	Central	Back
High	Short	i (mil:aga “spoon”)		u (suʔāl “question”)
	Long	ī (baīd “distant”)		ū (maqbul “acceptable”)
Mid	Short	e (inte “you”)		
	Long	ē (bēt “house”)		ō (lōn “colour”)
Low	Short		a (maktab “office”)	
	Long	ā (bāb ‘door’)	a: (ra:ħ “went”)	

**The phonology in JBPA. The consonants. The stops.** JA shares five stops with JBPA: /b/, /t/, /d/, /k/, and /g/. Actually, the unvoiced velar /k/ seems to have undertaken a shift into /g/ in the JBPA. Example (9) illustrates this:

Example (9) ʔana sā tamanya izi hōn, ana *sagin* fi Ramta

1st SG o'clock eight come here, 1st SG live in Ramta.

“I live in Ramtha; I come here at eight o'clock”

Context: The participant is asked “what time do you come to work?”

Moreover, the JBPA speakers, in most of the contexts, realized the glottal stop /ʔ/ either as a long vowel [ĩ] or sometimes never preserved it as in Example (10):

Example (10) ʔinta gadēs *ūmur* fi

2ndSG. Q. age COP.

“How old are you?”

Context: The participant asked the researcher “How old are you?”

Like the other Arabic emphatic sounds, the emphatic alveolar stop /ṭ/ was absent in the JBPA; the JBPA speakers replaced it with its non-emphatic counterpart /t/. Example (11) explains this phonological change:

Example (11) *ātini* maj

IMP-Give water

“Give me some water”

Context: Participant was asked “How do you ask somebody for water?”

**Fricatives. Labiodental fricatives.** In fact, the author has noticed that the JBPA speakers would replace the unvoiced labiodental fricative /f/ with the unvoiced stop /p/ (see Example (12)).

Example (12) ʕaddah *byārap* yilāb ʔana

Cards know play 1st SG

“I know how to play cards”

Context: The participant was asked “Do you know how to play cards?”

*Interdental fricatives.* The JA interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ were not preserved in the JBPA. The voiceless /θ/ was replaced by the voiceless stop /t/ (e.g., “tink” for “θink”), whereas the sound /ð/ (or /ɗ/ as in RD) was realized as /d/ (this is a feature of the UD). In fact, Kachru (2006, p. 31) generalized that, in Hindi, the interdental fricatives are pronounced as dental plosives in the borrowed words of English. The author thinks that this can also be the case for Bengalis when they come to use Arabic, since Bengali and Hindi are much similar; examples 3a and 3b below give more details:

Example (13) ?ani sagin fi *Ramta*

1st SG live in Ramtha

“I live in Ramtha”

Context: The participant was asked “Where do you live?”

Example (14) fi rus, fi bandōra fi *hada* samag kullu iṣ fi ōn

EXPL. rice, EXPL. tomato, EXPL. DEM fish everything EXPL. here

“There is everything here: rice, fish and tomato”

Context: The participant was asked “What type of food do you have at you living place?”

*Alveolar fricatives.* Regarding the voiced fricative /z/, the participants sometimes realized it as /s/; here is an example (see Example (15)):

Example (15) ?ani biṣūp bas *tilivisyōn*

1st SG see only television

“I see in television”

Context: the participant was asked “How do you spend your free time?”

*Uvular fricatives.* The JA velar fricatives are the voiced /g/ and the voiceless /x/. The speakers of the JBPA would make a shift from /g/ into /k/ or /g/, and from /x/ into /k/; examples on the two cases are the following (see Examples (16)-(17)).

Example (16) ?ani ōn fi *sukul*

1st SG here COP. work

“I work here”

Context: The participant is asked “Why are you in Jordan?”

Example (17) ?ana hōn tamān sanāt *kamsa* sār

1st SG. here eight years five month

“Eight years and five months”

Context: the participant is asked “How long have you been in Jordan?”

*The pharyngeal fricatives.* The pharyngeal /ħ/ never appeared in the recorded material; instead, the participants pronounced it either as a “slight” /h/ or as a long vowel [ĩ]. Actually, the author has noticed that this sound (also the other Arabic emphatic sounds) is absent in the consonant inventory of the Bengali language. Therefore, it was typical for the JBPA speakers not to preserve it in their speeches. Example (18) explains how the pharyngeal /ħ/ was lost.

Example (18) hassa fi *wād* māgīna karbān ?ana bisallih

Now EXPL. one machine broken down 1st SG might fix

“If one machine is broken down, I fix it”

Context: The participant is asked “What is your main role in the factory?”

Similarly, its voiced counterpart /ʕ/ was absent in the JBPA; it was sometimes pronounced as /ʔ/ and in most of the times it was totally lost [Ø], or was replaced by a long vowel [ĩ]. Example (19) makes this clearer:

Example (19) hada momgin finiř, *bādu* sawwi zađid hada muđır huwe yedfā kullu

this. might. finish, then make new this manager 3rd SG. M pay all

“This might finish, then the manager renews it for me”

Context: Participant is asked “What do you do when your visa finishes?”

*Alveolar emphatic fricative.* The alveolar emphatic fricative /ʕ/ was realized as /s/ by the JBPA speakers (see Examples (20)-(21)).

Example (20) ʔana fi talata *sadĩg* ōn

1st SG EXPL three friend here

“There are three friends here”

Context: The participant is asked “How many persons do you have in your room?”

Example (21) ana taglĩp wa *magas*

1st SG packaging and scissors

“I do the packing and the cutting”

Context: Participant is asked “What do you do in the factory?”

*Affricates.* The palatal affricate /j/ was frequently substituted with the voiced alveolar /z/, and only few speakers seemed to maintain it; Example (22) clarifies this:

Example (22) nafarat bangāali kullu *bizi* tyārah

people Bengali all come plane

“He and I come by plane”

Context: The participant is asked “How do Bengalis come to Jordan?”

*Tap.* The author has noticed that in some cases the tap /r/ was pronounced as a /l/. Example (23) shows this shift:

Example (23) ʔana *bilūh* balad kullu talāta sana

1st SG go country all three year

“I return to my country every three years”

Context: the participant is asked “How often do you visit your country?”

Table 3

*A Descriptive Table of the JBPA Consonants*

		Bilabial	Labio-de ntals	Inter-de ntal	Interdental emphatic	Alveolar emphatic	Alveolar	Pala-tal s	Velar	Uvular	Phary-ng eal	Glottal
Stops	VL VD	b				ṭ(t)	t d		k g			ʔ(ĩ/Ø)
Fricatives	VL VD		f(p)	θ(t) ð(d)	ḏ(d)	ʕ(s)	s z	š(s) ʒ		x(k) ğ(g, k)	ħ(h) ʕ(ĩ/Ø)	h
Affricates	VL VD							č(k) ğ(z, ʒ)				
Nasals	VD	m					n					
Tap	VD						r(l)					
Approx- imants	VD	w					l	y	w			

Table 3 shows a basic description of the JBPA consonants, which is a modified version of the one given by Næss (2008, p. 43). The possible substitutions of some sounds are bracketed next to them.

### Verb Phrase and Negation

Arabic sentences can be divided “into verbal sentences (containing a verb) and non-verbal sentences (containing no verb)” (Aziz, 1989, p. 11). This part will be concerned with the two types.

**Verb phrase and negation in JA. Verbal sentences and negation in JA.** In Arabic, the verb is of two forms: past/perfect and present/imperfect. The Arabic tense/aspect refers to a repeated action, a fact, or ability in the present. In addition, the past/perfect aspect refers to actions, situations before the present. Both past/perfect and imperfect verbs are inflected for tense, person, gender and number. The prefix *b-* is the present/imperfect marker. Tables 4 and 5 illustrate more (Cantineau, 1946, p. 214).

Table 4

#### JA Imperfect Tense

	Singular	Plural
3rd masc.	buktub	buktubu
3rd fem.	btuktub	buktubin
2nd masc.	btoktub	btuktubu
2nd fem.	btuktubi	btuktubin
1st com.	baktub	bnuktub

As can be seen in Table 4, the suffix *b-* is added to all the verbs to indicate the imperfect. Table 5, on the other hand, displays the structure of the perfect verbs in JA.

Table 5

#### JA Perfect Tense

Personal Pron.	Singular	Plural
3rd masc.	katab	katabu
3rd fem.	katbat	katabin
2nd masc.	katabit	katabtu
2nd fem.	katabti	kabatin
1st com.	katabit	katabna

To negate the perfect and imperfect verbs, the negative particle *mā* is inserted immediately before them, and the RD optional morpheme *-š* is suffixed to the verb, making the split-morpheme *mā... š* (Cantineau, 1946, p. 390; Sawāḥi, 2009, p. 40; Palva, 2004, p. 229). Example (24) shows how the imperfect verb in JA is negated:

Example (24) ?ani mā bašrab (iš)...

1st SG. NEG. drink-1st SG.M.IPF.

“I don’t drink...”

An example on the JA perfect verbs is given in Example (25):

Example (25) hī mā širbat (iš)

3rd SG. F. NEG. drank-3rd SG.F.PER.

“She didn’t drink”

To express the present progressive aspect, the auxiliary verb *gāšid* is placed before the main verb: ?ani gāšid

*balṣab* “I am playing”; *hummu gāḍ dīn bilṣabu* “they are palying”(Herin, 2010). To negate this verb, the negative marker *miš* is added; hence, *ʔani miš gāḍid balṣab* “I am not playing”; and *hummu miš gāḍid bilṣabu* “they are not playing”. For the past progressive, the copula *kān* + “was” is placed immediately before verbs. The negation of this helping verb is realized by *mā*.

Futurity in JA is expressed by the prefix *b-*, too. Herin (2010) claimed that this prefix is a polyfunctional morpheme used to denote progressive present or future: *batgadda sindak yōm il ʔumṣah* “I will have lunch at your place on Friday”. Moreover, the pseudo-verb *bidd* + expresses futurity in all Levantine dialects (Vanhove, Miller, & Caubet, 2009, p. 347), and takes its form from the subject pronoun; this verb is negated by *mā*. Examples (26)-(28) explain this:

Example (26) *ʔani biddi ʔaḥči maṣak kilimtēn*

1SG. will say.IPF with-2SG two-words

“I will tell you a few words”

Example (27) *hī bidha tīji*

3sg. F will. come.IPF

“she will to come”

Example (28) *ʔiḥna mā bidna nīji*

1pl. won’t come.IPF

“We won’t come”

With reference to the imperatives, they are “formed from the non-past, and always have the long vowel of the non-past” (McLoughlin, 1982, p. 47). They are used only with 2nd person, and are inflected for gender and number; thus, for 2nd sg. M. we say *ʔiṣrub* “(you) drink”; and for 2nd pl. M., we say *ʔiṣrubu* “(you) drink”; also, we say *ʔiṣrubi* “(you) drink” for 2nd sg. F. and *ʔiṣrabn* “(you drink)” for 3rd pl. F.

To negate the imperative verbs in JA, the negation marker *lā* plus the prefix *t-* (prefixed to the imperative verb) are added (Palva, 2004; Sawāḥi, 2009); thus; *lā tiṣrabi* and *lā tiṣrab* are examples on the negation of the imperative verbs.

Considering the modality in JA, the modal verb *lāzim* is used to express obligation and necessity. Examples (29)-(30) explain this:

Example (29) (you) *lāzim* tiskut [obligation]

(you) TMA. shut up

“you must keep silent”

Example (30) *ʔinte lāzim tšūf il-dactōr* [necessity]

2nd SG.M TMA. see the-doctor

“You should see a doctor”

Furthermore, the JA makes use of the modal verb *momkin* “may” or “might” to express permission and possibility: *ʔinta momkin trūḥ* “you may go” (indicating permission) and *ʔana momkin ʔāʔi* “I might come” (indicating possibility). To indicate ability, the JA speakers use *b-agdar* “can” (also used for permission).

With reference to the existential construction, JA uses the expletive *fī* as in Examples (31)-(32):

Example (31) *fī malṭaʔ taḥt l-ʔard*

EXPL. shelter under the-ground



“There is a shelter under the ground”

Example (32) *fī* ktāb ʕala tṭawleh

EXPL. on the-table

“There is a book on the table”

In the previous examples, the expletive *fī* is used to fill a syntactic position. This dummy *fī* can be negated by inserting the split-morpheme “*mā... š*” before it, where the suffix -š is optional (Palva, 2004, p. 232); Examples (33)-(34) become as follows:

Example (33) *mā fī (š)* malṭaʔ taḥt l-ʔarḍ

NEG. EXPL. shelter under the-ground

“There is no shelter under the ground”

Example (34) *mā fī (š)* ktāb ʕala tṭawleh

NEG. EXPL. on the-table

“There is no book on the table”

**The nominal sentence and the negation in JA.** A nominal sentence in Arabic is the sentence in which “the subject normally precedes the predicate” (Aziz, 1989, p. 12). The copulas are the linking verbs which link the subject and the predicate. In Arabic, a nominal sentence has no copula in the present, whereas in the past, the copula *kān* “was” is added.

In JA, sentences with no copulas are negated with *miš*. This negative particle is “regularly used to negate the predicate of a nominal clause, an individual word, a prepositional phrase, or an adverb” (Palva, 2004, p. 231); for further explanation, here are some examples (see Examples (35)-(36)).

Example (35) ʕammān ḥilwah

ʕammān beautiful

“Amman is beautiful” (Sawāʕi, 2009, pp. 19-20)

To negate the predicates in Example (35) the negation marker *miš* is inserted before them, making the following structures:

Example (36) ʕammān *miš* ḥilwah

ʕammān NEG. beautiful

“Amman isn’t beautiful” (Sawāʕi, 2009, pp. 19-20)

Sentences containing the copula *kān*, on the other hand, are negated by *mā* with attention to the person, gender and number agreements with the subject. For further explanation, see Examples (37)-(38):

Example (37) *hī kānat* kwaysih

3rd sg.M. COP. good

“She was good”

Example (38) hummu *mā* kānūš bilbēt

3rd pl. NEG. COP. at-home

“They were at home”

**The verb phrase and negation in JBPA.** *The verbal sentences and negation in JBPA.* The past/perfect and the present/imperfect in JBPA were not preserved. The imperfect aspect was interchangeably used for the past and the present tense. For the listener, this lack of inflection for tense can be compensated by context (e.g.,

adverbs of time). Moreover, the tense/aspect might be expressed by the use of the JBPA copula *fī*. Examples (39)-(43) illustrate more:

Example (39) *ʔana binam sā dās*

1st SG. slept o'clock eleven

"I sleep at eleven o'clock"

Context: The participant is asked "What time did you sleep yesterday?"

Example (40) *bi-awwal huwwa momgin birōh dubai bādēn huwwa izi zōrdan*

First 1st SG. might go Dubai then 3rd SG.M come Jordan

"First, they went to Dubai, then they came to Jordan"

Context: Participant is asked "How did Bengalis come to Jordan?"

Example (41) *ʔana zawwaz talata sana*

1st sg. marry three year

"I got married three years ago"

Context: Participant is asked "When did you get married?"

Example (42) *banāt fī zawwaz kullu ʔumrā arbā tās*

girls COP. marry 3SG.F. all age fourteen

"The girls in Bangladesh get married at the age of fourteen"

Context: The participant is asked "At what age do Bengali girls get married?"

Example (43) *masna waditu kullu umal masna bilbahrul mayet*

Factory send-3rd SG.M workers factory in Dead-Sea

"The factory sent all the workers to the Dead Sea"

Context: The participant is asked "Have you ever been on a picnic?"

Bakir (2010, p. 206) stated that the existence of some inflections on some verbs should not be taken as an inflection of the imperfect verb (as stable), which is the case for our study.

Regarding negation, the JA negative markers *mā fī* (š) and *mā* were interchangeably used to negate both the perfect and imperfect verbs in JBPA. However, to distinguish the first form of the negation from other types of negation (e.g. progressive, copula, and expletive negation), the author considered the first structure *mā fī*(š) as one particle (henceforth, *māfī*(š) rather than two separate particles (as in other studies, e.g., Avram, 2010; Næss, 2008). See Examples (44)-(46):

Example (44) *ʔana māfīš rūḥ maqān tāni*

1st SG. NEG. go. PER. place second

"I didn't go to any other place"

Context: Participant is asked "have ever been to a country other than Jordan?"

Example (45) *napar Bengali mā bilāb lēs asan huwwa kullu īzi hon sokul*

One person Bengali. NEG. play.IPF. why because 3SG. all come here work

"Bengalis don't play here, because we come here only for work"

Context: Participant is asked "What kinds of games do you and your friends play here?"

Example (46) *ana mā bišūp, huwwa napar šūp*

1st SG. NEG. see 3rd SG. M. person see

“I don’t see him; my friends see him”

Context: Participant is asked ‘What does your friend work in Madīnatil Hasan?’

In addition, the imperative verbs in the JBPA were not inflected for person, gender or number. The JA negative particle *lā* was not attested in the JBPA; rather, the particle *māfi(š)* was used. Example (47) explains more:

Example (47) *inte māfiš yinām asan ?ana fi sogul*

2nd SG. NEG. sleep. IMP. because EXPL. work

“Don’t sleep now because we have some work to do”

Context: Participant is asked “If your friend wants to sleep, but you have some work, and want him to help you, what do you tell him?”

Furthermore, the pseudo-verb *bidd+*, which is used as a future marker in JA, was attested in the JBPA; yet no consistent distinction for person, gender, and number was noticed. To negate the pseudo-verb, the participants used the negative marker *mā* (see Examples (48)-(49)):

Example (48) *inta biddu rūh Banglades?*

1st SG. will go Bangladesh?

“Will you go to Bangladesh?”

Example (49) *la ana ma biddu rūh sūdiah asan fisa mā fiš*

No 1st SG. NEG. will go Saudi Arabia because visa NEG. EXPL.

“I won’t go to Saudi Arabia because I have no visa”

Context: The participant is asked “Will you go to Saudi Arabia?”

In addition, the speakers did not preserve the JA progressive aspect; they, instead, used *fi*, and negated it by *mā*. Examples (50)-(51) clarify this:

Example (50) *Sēf, mā biddu sōt , bēbi fi nōm hassa.*

Sēf NEG. want sound, bēbi TAM. sleep now

“Sēf, don’t make noise! The baby is sleeping now”

Context: Participant is asked “What do you tell Sēf if he is making noise and your son wants to sleep?”

Example (51) *ida ana mā fi sokul, ?ana bisāid huwwa mā fi muskilah*

If 1st SG. NEG. TAM. work, 1st SG. help 3SG.M NEG. NEG. problem

“if I’m not working, I help him”

Context: The participant is asked “If your friend needs your help and you are free, do you help him out?”

With reference to the JA modal auxiliary *lāzim*, the author has found that the JBPA speakers used it only for expressing necessity. The auxiliary *momkin*, however, was fully preserved in the JBPA. Examples (52)-(54) make this clearer:

Example (52) *?ana bilbēt īzi momgin sā sitta sā tamanya īzi* [expressing possibility]

1SG. home come may o’clock six o’clock eight come

“I might come back home at six or eight o’clock”

Context: The participant is asked “what time do you come back home?”

Example (53) *huwwa momkin rūh šwaya mā fi muskila* [expressing permission]

3rd SG. may go little NEG. EXPL. problem

“He may go out for a while, no problem”

Context: The participant is asked “do you [a manager] allow a worker to take a five-minute rest?”

Example (54) ?ana mudīr sarlu tamānya sana kēp maratu *lāzim* maw<sup>3</sup>ūd [expressing necessity]

1st SG. manager factory for eight year how his-wife should existed

“I’ve been the production manager for eight years; my wife should be here”

Context: The participant is asked “Is your wife in Jordan?”

The expletive *fī* was frequently seen in the data. The negation of expletive *fī* by the JA negative marker *mā* was also attested in the JBPA (see Examples (55)-(56)).

Example (55) Banglades *mā fī* dajman sogul bas hōn lagetu dajman sokul

Bangladesh NEG. EXPL. always work but here found. always work

“There is no work in Bangladesh, but here there is a plenty of work”

Context: Participant is asked “why do you come to Jordan?”

Example (56) Banglades o hōn same-same *mā fīš* faruk bas swajja faruk

In-Bangladesh and here same-same NEG. EXPL. difference only little difference

“There is no difference between Bangladesh and Jordan, only little difference”

Context: Participant is asked “which is more expensive, Jordan or Bangladesh?”

**Negation of verbless sentences.** One of the main characteristics of pidgins is the absence of copulas. However, the participants used the particle *fī* as a copula for both the past and present (see Examples (57)-(59)).

Example (57) kalām arabi hada kullu *fī* mālum

Speech arabic this all COP. understood.

“Arabic language is familiar to me”

Context: The participant is asked “Can you speak Arabic well?”

Example (58) ?ana umur *fī* talatin sana

1st SG. COP. thirty year

“My age is thirty years”

Context: The participant is asked “How old are you?”

Example (59) ?ana *fī* bēbi *fī* rugūb tajāra ?ana *fī* kaf bas hassa kuwjes

1st SG COP. baby COP. riding plane 1st SG COP afraid but now good

“When I was a child, I was afraid of planes but now it’s ok”

Context: Participant is asked “Do you fear planes?”

To negate copulas, the JBPA speakers used *mā* and *muš* for both past and present as in Examples (60)-(61).

Example (60) awwal *mā* fīs gāli bas hassa kullu *fī* gāli

First NEG. expensive now every expensive

“In the past, life wasn’t expensive; now it’s expensive”

Context: Participant is asked “is life expensive in Jordan?”

Example (61) hunak fulūs muš kuwajes bes hon *fī* šwai kuwajes

There many NEG. good but here EXPL. little good

“The salaries there are not good, but in Jordan they are a little bit better”

Context: The participant is asked “where do get more money, in Jordan or in Bangladesh?”

### Conclusions

This article investigated the JBPA features of the phonology, verbal system, and negation of the JBPA against those of the JA to find out if the former is a pidgin. The study revealed that the phonology in the JBPA was reduced and simplified, i.e., some consonants were either lost or have undergone a shift from the lexifier JA (e.g., the velar /x/ was pronounced as /k/, and /ġ/ as /k/ or /g/); these features are also attested in other Arabic-lexified pidgins (Watson, 1989; Avram, 2010; Miller, 1993; Næss, 2008).

Regarding the verbal system, we have clearly seen that the JBPA verb was invariant and unmarked for person, gender, and number. The JBPA speakers neither marked the aspect in present nor in past; besides, they did not inflect the tense/aspect for person, gender, and number. The subjects never seemed to distinguish the perfect and imperfect; they frequently borrowed the 3rd SG.M. imperfect form to express both perfect and imperfect. Furthermore, we have noticed that in the JBPA speakers expressed future tense either by the use of the adverbs of time that denote futurity, or by inserting the so-called pseudo-verb *bidd+*, with the latter not being inflected for person, gender, and number.

With regard to the mood, the JA imperative structure was attested in the JBPA, yet the distinction for number was lost. Considering the modals, *lāzim* was “partially preserved” in the JBPA, i.e., the JBPA speakers used it only to express obligation. On the other hand, the modal *momkin* was “fully preserved” in the JBPA.

When it comes to the JBPA negative markers, the author can basically divide them into three kinds: The first is the “polyfunctional” negative particle *mā*, which was used for the negation of perfect and imperfect, the particle *fī* as a copula, a progressive marker and as expletive. The second negative marker is *māfī(š)* which was used to negate imperatives (sometimes perfect and imperfect). The last one is *miš* which was used with the nominal sentences that lack copulas.

In light of what has been introduced, the author can conclude that the JBPA variety cannot be considered as a “stabilized or conventionalized pidgin”; rather, it can be classified under the first stages of pidgins, as a “pre-pidgin” or “incipient pidgin”. Moreover, we have seen that the study was based only on two languages (Bengali and JA), which goes against the claim that pidgins form only when there are several languages in contact (two or more). Actually, the period required for two languages to form a pidgin is not, and should not, be defined.

### Recommendations

Since the current study was restricted to some areas of the JBPA, the author recommended some aspects which can be taken into consideration in later relevant researches: (1) Since this study was conducted with reference to only one substrate language, the author highly recommended that further researches be made upon other substrate languages in Jordan; (2) Due to the restricted accessibility to the women, the author was not able to include them in the study, which can be taken into account in later studies; and (3) considering the JBPA linguistic features, this study investigated them with regard to phonology, verb phrase, and negation. Some other areas in JBPA, such as the noun phrase, the numerals, reduplication, and pragmatic functions, are also recommended to be studied.

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# The Head of the Chinese Adjectives and ABB Reduplication

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This study investigates whether the head of the Chinese adjective compounds is on the left or right or on both sides. Using the ABB type of adjectives as evidence, the author argues that the head of the Chinese adjectives is more likely on the left than on the right. This study supports the Headedness Principle and also calls into question whether a suffix is the head of a word as traditionally assumed in morphology. On the other hand, it also provides evidence that reduplication is a compounding process as Haugen (2008) has claimed since most of the reduplicated constituents of ABB have a specific lexical meaning and many of them can be used as independent words.

*Keywords:* adjective, head, compound, ABB reduplication, reanalysis, infix, suffixation, gestalt word

## Introduction

Compounding is a major and productive means of word formation in Chinese (Ceccagno & Basciano, 2007; Sproat, 1998). Although there is a significant difference between Chinese and English in terms of what forms a compound (in English, compounds should be composed of two or more words), Chinese linguists basically consider any polysyllabic units as compounds if each constituent has its lexical meaning with certain word properties, and these constituents may be a morpheme, not a word, and cannot be used independently (LI & Thompson, 1981; Starosta, Kuiper, Ng, & WU, 1998). This study will take the same approach in defining compounding in Chinese. However, it is a debate on where the head is located in a Chinese compound.

Williams (1981) and Lieber (1981, 1992) claimed that all the compounds have their heads on the right in English no matter if they are nouns, verbs, or adjectives. Chinese is very different from English in this regard. HUANG (1998) proposed that verbs have their heads on the left and adjectives are headless; thus Chinese is basically a headless language. Starosta et al. (1998) and Ceccagno and Basciano (2006, 2007) argued that generally Chinese compound words are right-headed including adjective compounds. Sproat (1998) also argued that in a traditional sense, the adjectives are right-headed and verbs are left-headed. In addition, Packard (2000) proposed a Headedness Principle for Chinese compounds. According to the Headedness Principle, noun words have nominal constituents on the right as their heads and verb words have verbal constituents on the left as their heads; other word types are left relatively free to vary.

This paper will argue that if Chinese adjectives are a type of verbs, as many have claimed (CHAO, 1968; McCawley, 1992) because they share syntactic properties, then they might also share the morphological properties. We would expect that they should at least share some major morphological properties; particularly,

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they should have their heads on the left side of adjectives. The ABB type of Chinese adjectives such as 白茫茫 *baimangmang* (a vast expanse of whiteness) and 直挺挺 *zhitingting* (straight and stiff) and word reduplication suggest that adjectives are consistently on the left of the words, thus the head of an adjective compound is on the left. This paper also proposes that the ABB type of adjectives should be treated as compounds, because most of the BB constituents in the compounds are not suffixes and have lexical meanings, although some of them start to lose their concrete meaning and are in the process of grammaticalization.

### The “Head” Debate

The Headedness Principle posits that noun words have nominal constituents on the right and verb words have verbal constituents on the left. Other word types are left relatively free to vary. This principle is based on the statistical results of the Chinese adjective formation. According to Packard (2000), 90% of all Chinese nouns have a noun on the left and 85% of all verbs have a verb on the left:

Example (1)	进 攻	走 路	石 油	石 窟
	V V	V N	N N	N N
	to attack	to walk	petroleum	stone-cave

As shown in Example (1), the first two words are verb compounds; they both have verbs on the left; while the noun compounds have nouns on the right in the latter cases.

However, Packard (2000) did not give any specific statistic numbers about adjectives, and indicated that the head of adjectives (counted as other types of words) are free to vary. Ceccagno and Basciano (2006) criticized Packard’s Headedness Principle and argued that the Headedness Principle will not adequately describe some of the adjective compounds such as coordinate compounds, attributive verbal compounds, and attributive adjectival compounds, because these compounds either have their heads on the right or on both sides, but not on the left as posited by the Headedness Principle. The following examples in Table 1 are from Ceccagno and Basciano (2006).

Table 1

*Compounds Exceptions to the Headedness Principle*

Script	Compound	Cat.	Structure	Class	Head	Gloss
店铺	<i>dianpu</i>	N	[N + N]	CRD	B	shop + shop = shop
爱恋	<i>ailian</i>	V	[V + V]	CRD	B	(to) love + (to) love = (to) love
美丽	<i>meili</i>	A	[A + A]	CRD	B	beautiful + beautiful = beautiful
口算	<i>kousuan</i>	V	[N + V]	ATT	R	mouth + (to) calculate = (to) do a sum orally
云集	<i>yunji</i>	V	[N + V]	ATT	R	cloud + (to) gather = (to) come together in crowds
笔直	<i>bizhi</i>	A	[N + A]	ATT	R	tool for writing and drawing + straight = straight as ramrod
冰凉	<i>bingliang</i>	A	[N + A]	ATT	R	ice + cold = ice-cold

Notes. N = Noun; V = Verb; A = Adjective; R = Right; B = Both; CRD = Coordinate; ATT = Attributive.

These examples clearly are not covered by the Headedness Principle; however, the Headedness Principle is based on the statistical results of all types of nouns and verbs, so we would assume that these types of exceptions would have been counted in the statistics by Packard; in other words, these types of compounds are not so many in Chinese and do not influence the statistical results.

HUANG (1998) argued that Chinese is a headless language in morphology, because the category type of a compound cannot be determined by the rightmost member or leftmost member of a compound. He claimed that noun compounds are more right-headed; verb compounds are more left-headed and adjective compounds have no particular tendency toward either the rightmost or the leftmost member of a compound. As a result, Chinese compounds in general are headless. He examined the entire dictionary of *GRC* (*Guoyu Ribao Cidian Mandarin Daily Dictionary*) (1993) and found 24,000 disyllabic compounds (including all adjectives). His survey showed that “neither the rightmost member nor the leftmost of a compound can claim to monopolize the privileged status of determining the category of a compound” (HUANG, 1998, p. 261).

The author of this paper disagrees with HUANG in that no matter whether it is left-headed or right-headed or on both sides, Chinese words indeed have heads. We cannot say Chinese is a headless language just because the head does not have a unitary position in adjective words.

Modeling CHAO's adjective classification, the author used the following criteria to determine the form class of adjectives: Adjectives (1) can be negated by 不 *bu* “not”; (2) can function as predicates; (3) can take 著 *zhe*, 了 *le*, and 过 *guo*; and (4) can have “X” 不 “X” form such as 好不好 *haobuhao* “good or not”. The author examined all the disyllabic adjective compounds in *现代汉语词典* *xiandaihanyucidian* (*MCD* (*Modern Chinese Dictionary*)) (2002) and found that 2,165 out of 2,875 adjectives have adjectives on the left side; this counts for 75% of disyllabic adjective compounds. Interestingly, the author also found that 2,070 of 2,875 disyllabic adjective words have adjectives on the right. This counts for 72% of total adjective compounds. 62.3% of adjective compounds (1,792 in total) have adjective constituents on both sides. The reason is that most adjectives of this type are composed of two synonyms or antonyms.

Table 2 is a comparison between the author's statistics numbers of disyllabic adjective compounds in *MCD* (2002) and HUANG's number in *GRC* (1993).

Table 2

*Comparison Between the Numbers of Disyllabic Compounds in GRC and MCD*

	AA	AV	AN	AX*	VA	NA	VV	NN	N	VN	XX	Total
GRC	1,609	173	198		?	209	103	90	72	378	66	2,898
MCD	1,792	171	128	74	90	188	78	86	52	185	31	2,875

Notes. X in [AX] indicates suffixes; [XX] type includes [Adverb N], [Adv V], [Adv A], and [Numeral N]; \* indicates that there is no AX category in GRC.

HUANG's claim might be true as far as adjectives are concerned. The total number of disyllabic adjectives is 2,898, and 1,609 of them are [A + A] type, which accounts for 55.5% of all adjective compounds. Using his numbers, the author gave further computation, and found that there are 1,818 adjectives having adjectives on the right side, accounting for 62.7% of total adjective compounds; 1,980 adjectives have an adjective on the left side of a compound and account for 68.3% of all adjective compounds. This result is basically consistent with the author's statistics: Neither a leftmost member nor rightmost member of a compound can dominate the other. The differences between the author's numbers and HUANG's might be caused by different criteria, intuition, and judgment on the form class identity of adjectives, verbs, or nouns. HUANG did not give his criteria on which the adjectives are identified. In addition, the author of this paper has counted all the adjectives marked by “书” (“written language”) in the *MCD*. These adjectives are rarely used and closer to classical Chinese, and most of

them are [A + A] type adjectives. These additions increase the number of [A + A] type significantly. HUANG's dictionary is more a spoken Chinese dictionary than a written Chinese dictionary.

No matter how different the two statistics might be, the same finding is made: There seems to be no fixed head position in adjectives. The reason is that there is a large proportion of adjectives having adjective constituents on both sides and most of them are synonyms and antonyms; in other words, they are all coordinate adjectives. The author's statistic is 62.3% and HUANG's is 55.5%. We simply cannot tell which side is preferred as the position of the head for adjective compounds. However, it is still an overstatement that Chinese compounds have no heads. Clearly, Chinese nouns have their heads on the right and Chinese verbs have their heads on the left (Packard, 2000). The only question is whether Chinese adjectives are left-headed or right-headed as Chinese verbs are. Moreover, even if the compound words have the same class of the word constituents on each side, how they (the left constituent and right constituent) behave morphologically and syntactically can offer more information about the headedness of those compound words. The ABB reduplication and syntactic reanalysis are the two examples the author examined in this paper.

### The ABB Reduplication and the Head of the Adjectives

Although we cannot determine whether the heads of adjectives are on the left side or right side of the words in compounding, in the ABB adjective reduplication process, there is evidence that supports that the heads of Chinese adjectives are on the left hand sides of Chinese adjective words. We call this proposal as "Left-Headed Hypothesis".

According to CAO (1995), there are 338 ABB adjectives in Chinese. Similarly, the author of this paper finds 336 ABB adjectives in *MCD* and *现代汉语八百词* *xiandaihanyubabaici* (*Modern Chinese 800 Words*, LV, 1996), 293 out of 336 adjectives have adjectives on the left, and it is 87% of total ABB adjectives. Does this suggest that the ABB adjectives have their heads on the left? Before we answer this question, let us first look at Table 3, which illustrates the typical ABB adjective reduplication.

Table 3

#### ABB Reduplication

A + BB	N + BB	V + BB
矮墩墩 ( <i>aidundun</i> , short)	水灵灵 ( <i>shuilingling</i> , charming)	笑咪咪 ( <i>xiaomimi</i> , smiley)
辣酥酥 ( <i>lasusu</i> , spicy)	气鼓鼓 ( <i>qigugu</i> , angry)	颤巍巍 ( <i>chanweiwei</i> , shaky)
懒洋洋 ( <i>lanyangyang</i> , lazy)	泪汪汪 ( <i>leiwangwang</i> , teary)	喘吁吁 ( <i>chuanxuxu</i> , breathless)
空荡荡 ( <i>kongdangdang</i> , empty)	汗津津 ( <i>hanjinjin</i> , sweaty)	醉醺醺 ( <i>zuixunxun</i> , drunk)

As shown in Table 3, there are three types of lexical categories on the left for ABB adjectives. The word stems can be an adjective, a noun, or a verb, but the reduplicated part is always an adjective, so does this mean that BB is the head since it determines the category of the whole word? The problem is that it is very hard to determine the word class of BB. Some of them are adjectives, because they are used freely as an adjective, and others cannot be used freely and their original words are not adjectives. For example, 茫茫 *mangmang* "vast expanse" in 白茫茫 *baimangmang* "a vast expanse of whiteness" can be used in 茫茫的大海 *mangmang de dahai* "the vast ocean", but we cannot say 醺醺的爸爸 *xunxun de baba* "drunk father" or 醺醺地醉 *xunxun de zui* "drunk", thus we cannot determine the form class of 醺醺 *xunxun* "drunk". One approach to this question is

to treat BB as a suffix, and the suffix functions as a head and determines the category of the whole word. This will suggest that the head of ABB adjectives is on the right. However, if we further examine the ABB adjectives, we will find the ABB reduplication includes two types of morphological processes: One is compounding and the other is suffixation. The author will argue that most ABB adjectives are compounds and only a minority of ABB adjectives is derivational and has suffixation. The reasons are as follows:

(1) Most BBs still have concrete lexical meanings and only a few BBs such as 乎乎 *huhu* and 巴巴 *baba* can be considered as suffixes since they have lost their lexical meanings. Some others may be in the process of losing their lexical meanings and are becoming suffixes. According to the author's calculation, 91% of ABB adjectives are compounds and only 9% of ABB adjectives are derivational words with suffixes such as 乎乎 *huhu* and 巴巴 *baba*, which will change a word into an adjective.

(2) Most BBs can only be attached to a very limited number of words or bound roots while a suffix should be very productive and can be attached to a variety of different words, thus we can conclude that most BBs are not suffixes and they should be treated as compounds, because BBs still contribute to the meanings of the whole words. ZHANG (2005) argued that some BBs can only be attached to one adjective such as 漆漆 *qiqi* "paint" only combine with 黑 *hei* "dark, black", 皑皑 *aiai* "pure white" can only combine with 白 *bai* "white".

(3) Many BBs can be used freely as a word such as (白) 茫茫 (*bai mangmang*) in 茫茫的大海 *mangmang de dahai* "vast expanse of the ocean", (静) 悄悄 (*jing qiaoqiao*) in 春天悄悄地来了 *chuntian qiaoqiao de lai le* "Spring has come quietly", and (亮) 闪闪 (*liang shanshan*) "flashing/shining" in 闪闪的红星 *shanshan de hongxing* "flashing/shining red star".

(4) If the head is the suffix on the right of the adjective, we cannot explain the suffixation in which the reduplicated morpheme does not have its original form (see Example (2)):

Example (2)	甜丝丝	凉丝丝	蓝盈盈	乱糟糟	兴冲冲
	<i>tian sisi</i>	<i>liang sisi</i>	<i>lan yingying</i>	<i>luan zaozao</i>	<i>xing chongchong</i>
	sweet	cold	blue	messy	happy

There are no such words as "甜丝 *tiansi*", "凉丝 *liangsi*", "蓝盈 *lanying*", "乱糟 *luanzao*", and "兴冲 *xingchong*", and the right constituents cannot be a head; thus it is impossible to reduplicate the head if the suffixation is a head operation as traditionally assumed; in other words, the reduplication here is not a head operation on the right. We can only assume that the reduplicated morpheme BB here is a single morpheme or a disyllabic morpheme that is attached to the left constituent of the adjective. If the BB part has a lexical meaning, then the ABB reduplication is more likely a compounding process than a suffixation. Sometimes, it just reduplicates the second constituent of the word; other times, it just reduplicates a non-constituent and attaches it to the head. In short, the reduplication itself is a kind of compounding construction (Haugen, 2008). Table 4 shows the compounding process.

Table 4

*ABB Reduplication in Chinese*

	Type	Adj.	Pinyin	Structure	Gloss
Type 1	A + BB	矮墩墩	<i>aidundun</i>	矮 + 墩墩	short
Type 2	AB + B	赤裸裸	<i>chiluoluo</i>	赤 + 裸 + 裸	naked; undisguised
Type 3	BA + B	香喷喷	<i>xiangpenpen</i>	香 + 喷喷	delicious

In Type 1, BB as a whole is attached to the left constituent and in Type 2, the right constituent B is reduplicated first and then attached to the left side. Type 3 is actually a two-step reduplication: First step, it is the reduplication on the left morpheme—BBA. Second step, BBA switches positions, A goes to the left side and BB goes to the right, as shown in Table 5.

Table 5

*BAB Reduplication Process*

Compound	Step 1	Step 2	Pinyin
喷香	*喷喷香	香喷喷	<i>xiangpenpen</i> , delicious
通红	*通通红	红通通	<i>hongtongtong</i> , red
油绿	*油油绿	绿油油	<i>lvyouyou</i> , green
煞白	*煞煞白	白煞煞	<i>baishasha</i> , pale
冰冷	*冰冰冷	冷冰冰	<i>lengbingbing</i> , cold
绵软	*绵绵软	软绵绵	<i>ruanmianmian</i> , soft
纷乱	*纷纷乱	乱纷纷	<i>luanfenfen</i> , chaotic
幽静	*幽幽静	静幽幽	<i>jingyouyou</i> , quiet

Note. \* indicates that there are no such compound words in Mandarin Chinese.

Note that AB is not likely to switch positions before the reduplication takes place as there is no motivation to do that. For example, it is not possible to have this type of process in ABB reduplication such as in 通红→红通→红通通 *hongtongtong* “red”. The fact that Shanghai dialect has Step 2 form of the reduplication suggests that our proposal is correct. In Shanghai dialect, the reduplication is not ABB, it is BBA such as 喷喷香 *penpenxiang* “delicious”, 通通红 *tongtonghong* “red”, 冰冰冷 *bingbingleng* “ice-cold”, etc.. This shows that the reduplication rules are different among Chinese dialects, thus the head positions are different from those of Mandarin Chinese too.

As seen above, the head of ABB adjectives is always on the left. If it is originally on the right, it should go back to the left after the reduplication operation. This is strong evidence supporting the Left-Headed Hypothesis.

As for the ABB suffixation such as 干巴巴 *ganbaba* “dry”, 湿乎乎 *shihuhu* “wet”, 巴巴 *baba* and 乎乎 *huhu* have lost their lexical meanings and do not contribute to the meanings of the whole words, so they should be treated as suffixes. However, it is very important to note that an adjective constituent in adjective gestalt word is always the virtual head if the adjective constituent is present and suffixation is not necessarily a head operation if the reduplicative suffix does not change category of the word form class (Lieber, 1992; Marantz, 1982; McCarthy & Prince, 1986). If we look at the ABB adjectives with 巴巴 *baba* and 乎乎 *huhu* as suffixes, there is only one case in 血乎乎 *xuehuhu* “bloody” that 乎乎 *huhu* changes the form class of the word: 血 *xue* “blood” is a noun. This clearly indicates that the suffixes such as 巴巴 *baba* and 乎乎 *huhu* do not change the form class of the whole word, thus it should not be treated as the head. We define the head as: (1) Head percolates its morphosyntactic features onto the rest of the compound; (2) Head determines the properties and the grammatical category of the whole compound; and (3) Head is the only obligatory element of a constituent.

According to this definition, 巴巴 *baba* and 乎乎 *huhu* mostly do not percolate their morphosyntactic features onto the rest of the compound and do not determine the form class of the whole word and are not the only obligatory element of a word, thus they are not the heads of ABB adjectives. A suffix is a head only if it can change the lexical category of the word base, or if it does not change the lexical category but it changes the syntactic feature of the base (Scalise, 1988).

### Other Evidence Supporting Left-Headed Hypothesis

#### Reanalysis

Packard (2000) proposed that the identity of morphemic constituents is mainly word-driven and the form class identities of its constituents are generally determined by the form class identity of the word. In other words, the word identity determines the identity of the word head. This morphological process is called reanalysis or percolation. Let us look at the two reanalysis examples: 石雕 *shidiao* “stone-carving” and 大便 *dabian* “to move the bowels”.

石雕 *shidiao* “stone-carving” is a noun, but it has a verb 雕 *diao* “carve” on the right, and there are also other words with 雕 *diao* on their right sides such as 牙雕 *yadiao* “ivory carving”, 漆雕 *qidiao* “carved lapuer-ware”, 浮雕 *fudiao* “relief sculpture”, and 贝雕 *beidiao* “shell carving”, Packard (2000) argued that the productive use of 雕 *diao* “carve” as a noun suggests that 雕 *diao* has undergone a reanalysis process that change its form class from verb into noun. The gestalt word dominates over its internal constituents and the word identity determines the identity of the head. 雕 *diao* “carve” is a verb, but it is on the right side of the noun word, thus it is reanalyzed as a noun.

This reanalysis is also applied to verbs such as 大便 *dabian* “to move the bowels”, 小便 *xiaobian* “to urinate”. Clearly, both 大 *da* “big” and 小 *xiao* “small” are adjectives, but because they occupy the left-hand side of gestalt [A + N] verbs, and left side is the head position for verbs, therefore, they are reanalyzed as verbs, as shown in Example (3):

Example (3) (a) 我大完便就去打球。

*wo da wan bian jiu qu da qiu*

I big finish convenience then go play ball

I will go to play ball after “moving the bowels”.

(b) 他小了三十分钟的便。

*ta xiao le san shi fen zhong de bian*

He small LE 30 minute DE convenience

He peed for 30 minutes.

This kind of use for compound words is a reflection of native speakers’ intuitive morphological knowledge about Chinese compounds. Packard’s observation is based on verb and noun disyllabic compounds, and these compounds clearly have heads within the gestalt words, in which a verb has its head on its left side and a noun has its head on its right side. Because native Chinese speakers know that a verb tends to have its head on the left and a noun tends to have its head on the right, they will construe the left constituent of any verb as the head of the verb and right constituent of any noun as the head of the noun. So Chinese speakers can accept the fact that 大 *da* “big”, 小 *xiao* “small”, 雕 *diao* “carve” in 石雕 *shidiao*

“stone-carving”, and 大便 *dabian* “to move the bowels” 小便 *xiaobian* “to pee” have changed their form classes due to the percolation of form class of the gestalt word (Packard, 2000). Interestingly, this reanalysis process is also applied to adjectives, especially the ABB adjectives. Table 6 shows the ABB adjectives reanalysis process.

Table 6

*Adjective Reanalysis Examples*

N + BB	Pinyin and meaning of the adjectives	Reanalysis examples	Gloss of the sentences
肉墩墩	<i>roudundun</i> , fat	这个人真肉。	The person is very fat/very slow.
牛哄哄	<i>niuhonghong</i> , cocky	这位老板很牛。	The boss is excellent.
油汪汪	<i>youwangwang</i> , oily	这张桌子太油了。	The table is too greasy.
气鼓鼓	<i>qigugu</i> , angry	她对这件事很气。	She is very angry with this.
水淋淋	<i>shuilinlin</i> , watery	今天买的猪肉太水了。	There is too much water in the pork.
		这篇文章太水了。	This paper is too weak.
毒花花	<i>duhuahua</i> , scorching	今天的太阳太毒了。	The sun is scorching.
火辣辣	<i>huolala</i> , hot	这位演员终于火了。	The actor is popular finally.
木呆呆	<i>mudaidai</i> , stonily	她的男朋友很木。	Her boyfriend is very slow (stonily).
文绉绉	<i>wenzhouzhou</i> , genteel	姚明很文，但那没有用。	Yao Ming is very gracious, but it is useless.
贼溜溜	<i>zeiliuliu</i> , sneaky	车上的小偷太贼了。	The thief on the car is very sneaky.
面乎乎	<i>mianhuhu</i> , weak	有的男人做事很面。	Some men are very weak in doing things.

As we can see in Table 6, the heads on the left-hand sides in the ABB adjectives are all nouns; however, they can be used as adjectives through reanalysis. The reason can be that they occupy the left-hand side of the adjective compounds, and the left-hand side is the head position for Chinese adjectives; therefore, they are changed into adjectives. Again this supports the author's Left-Headed Hypothesis for Chinese adjectives.

In addition, this form class percolation can be applied to other Chinese adjectives such as attributive adjectival compounds and adjectives with infixes. This is shown in Table 7.

Table 7

*Reanalysis in Other Adjectives*

N + A	Examples	Pinyin and meaning of the adjectives	Gloss of the sentences
冰凉	他的手很冰。	<i>bingliang</i> , ice-cold	His hand is ice-cold.
N + 里/不 + NA			
土里土气	这位教授太土了。	<i>tulituqi</i> , corny	The professor is too corny.

冰 *bing* “ice” and 土 *tu* “dust, soil” are nouns, but here they are used as adjectives because they are on the left side of the words. Table 7 further shows us that the reanalysis and percolation is a wide spread phenomenon in Chinese morphology, especially in Chinese adjectives.

**Adjective Infixes**

The Chinese adjectives with infixes also show the same tendency in adjective formation. The author found 58 of them in *MCD*, and 54 out of 58 adjectives have the adjective on the left, which accounts for 91% of the adjectives; only four of them have a noun on the left. We cannot say that the infix is the head of this type of adjectives. The head is clearly on the left side of the word. Table 8 shows some of the examples.

Table 8

*Adjectives With Infixes*

A + B + (C + D)	Pinyin	Gloss
白不吡咧	<i>baibucilie</i>	white
黑不溜秋	<i>heibuliugiu</i>	dark, black
花不棱登	<i>huabulengdeng</i>	multicolored
滑不唧溜	<i>huabujiliu</i>	slippery
酸不溜丢	<i>suanbuliudiu</i>	sour
老实巴交	<i>laoshibajiao</i>	honest
胖不伦敦	<i>pangbulundun</i>	fat
黑咕隆咚	<i>heigulongdong</i>	dark
曲里拐弯	<i>quliguaiwan</i>	bent, crooked
笨了呱叽	<i>benleguaji</i>	silly, stupid
糊里糊涂	<i>hulihutu</i>	confused
怪里怪气	<i>guailiguaiqi</i>	weird, strange
冷不丁	<i>lengbuding</i>	sudden
软古囊	<i>ruangunang</i>	soft

ZHU (1994) treated B such as 不 *bu* “not” and 里 *li* “inside” in these adjectives as infixes, because they are comparatively free and can form quite a few adjectives. He argued that B + (C + D) is not a suffix, because B is independently used. The author thinks it is a better treatment than suffix.

**A-not-A Question Operation on Adjective Compounds**

As many have claimed (CHAO, 1968; TANG, 1978; LI & Thompson, 1981; McCawley, 1992), Chinese adjectives are a type of verbs, because they share syntactic properties with verbs. The most important similarity between Chinese verbs and adjectives is that they both can function as predicates directly and independently; in other words, they can fill in the same syntactic slot in a sentence. We would assume that if they belong to the same form class, then they might also share the morphological properties; in other words, adjectives should have the same or similar morphological operations as verbs. One of the same operations for verbs and adjectives is A-not-A question operation, as illustrated in Table 9.

Table 9

*A-not-A Operation in Chinese Verbs and Adjectives*

Type	Original form	A-not-A	Pinyin	Gloss
V + O	睡觉	睡不睡觉	<i>shuijiao</i>	To sleep or not
O + V	步行	步不步行	<i>buxing</i>	To walk or not
A + A	美丽	美不美丽	<i>meili</i>	To be beautiful or not
A + V	好看	好不好看	<i>haokan</i>	To be good-looking or not
V + A	开阔	开不开阔	<i>kaikuo</i>	To be wide or not
N + A	笔直	笔不笔直	<i>bizhi</i>	To be straight like pen or not
V + N	超群	超不超群	<i>chaoqun</i>	To be outstanding or not
A + X (suffix)	粘乎	粘不粘乎	<i>nianhu</i>	To be sticky or not

Packard (2000) argued that this operation applies to the left constituents of verbs, because native speakers construe the heads of the verbs are on the left side. This operation indeed applies to adjectives as shown in Table 9.



In [N + A], [V + N], and [V + A] types of adjectives, the A-not-A question operation can still apply. This suggests that Chinese speakers take the first left element of the whole adjective word as a head even though it is not an adjective. This is the same as the verb compound 步行 *buxing*, “walk or not”. It can have an A-not-A operation on its head 步 *bu* “step”, although it is a noun, not a verb. The reason is that the head of Chinese verbs is on the left. Through percolation, the form class of gestalt word determines the form classes of constituents of gestalt words. Therefore, Chinese speakers construe the left elements of the gestalt adjective words as adjectives.

However, it can also be argued that an adjective can be applied to A-not-A question operation is not because its head is on the left but because the rule of A-not-A question requires the first left constituent must be repeated no matter if it is a head or not. This issue will not be discussed in this paper.

### Conclusions

This study investigated the headedness of Chinese adjectives and argued that the head of Chinese adjectives is more likely on the left than on the right. Statistically, Chinese adjectives may be two headed or the heads are “free to vary”, but the ABB type of adjectives and syntactic reanalysis seem to suggest that the head should be on the left. This conclusion supports the Headedness Principle in Chinese. In addition, the author also argued that the ABB type of adjective reduplication is more likely to be a compounding process than a suffixation due to the fact that most BB parts of the adjectives still have concrete lexical meanings and many of them can be used freely as independent words. They may be in the process of grammaticalization, and are becoming more and more a suffix. However, even if they are suffixes, they do not change the form classes of the adjective words and thus they are not heads; thus the head of Chinese adjectives still tends to be on the left hand of the adjective words.

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# Ideological Foundations of the Igbo Oral Proverbs Translations of Achebe in *TFA (Things Fall Apart)*

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Proverbs in *TFA (Things Fall Apart)* (1958) should not only be seen as unique performances, but also as specific encapsulations of ideological and sociocultural accretions of the Igbo people in Nigeria. The avalanche of proverbs in *TFA* and their representations give the novel an amazingly peculiar and attractive outlook. Those may be some of the reasons why the book has a global critical acclaim and has been translated into 36 languages with more than 80 million copies sold in 50 languages. Although the proverbs call special attention, because they constitute landmarks in the plot development of the novel, their ideological underpinnings are not readily discernible. Nevertheless, a great preponderance of works done on proverbs usually indicate the proverbs' functions within contexts of application giving little or no attention to their ideological foundations. Therefore, beyond the functional application, this write-up uses the sociosemiotic approach to CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) and Black's interaction view of metaphor to critically investigate the proverbs found in *TFA* with the intention to account for the imagery, unravel opaque structures, sociocultural bases, and power relations that underpin the sustenance of the proverbs or otherwise. Findings indicate that the proverbs originate from Igbo spirituality. Through the use of floral, faunal, socioeconomic, and political discourses, the life experiences of the people are summed up in the wise sayings.

**Keywords:** sociocultural accretions, CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis), power relations, Igbo spirituality, Igbo oral proverbs

## Introduction

Proverbs are collective wisdom of a society and they contain much that must be known and constantly remembered. Implicitly, they are charged with ideologies and common sense of the sociocultural groups that own them. Proverbs constitute a major feature in oral tradition. The reason is that the chief character of oral traditions is rapid fading (Wold, 1978). Since oral sociocultures have no fixed texts in writing, they organize and transmit knowledge in ways designed to facilitate the labor of human memory. As a result of the mnemonic necessity, whatever is conceptualized tends to be institutionalized in existential terms to facilitate memory and availability. Skills and information are acquired through personal contact and exemplification. Thus, oral sociocultures like the Igbo and their discourses are traditionalist, conservative, and communal. Sequel to that, since reasoned arguments alone are seldom responsible for a permanent change in behavior, mental models are couched in

metaphorical expressions such as proverbs to achieve the change (Woodward, 1991, p. 121).

Many authors write on proverbs on the basis of their functional applications. For example, Achebe (1958) described it as “the palm oil with which words are eaten” (p. 6). In other words, proverbs have sociocultural significance and are applicable in discourses. Oyeleye (1995, pp. 365-379) and Osundare (1995, pp. 341-363) also saw proverbs functionally from translatorial action process view point and suggested that they pose a Herculean task to translators since they are socioculturally bound. Nwachukwu-Agbada (2002) contained a comprehensive investigation of Igbo proverbs. He also categorized them on the basis of their functions. By proverb functionality is meant that proverbs have sociocultural significance and are applied contextually. Adejumo (2009, pp. 451-461) demonstrated how proverbs are functionally applied in the Yoruba contemporary society in relation to power, domination, and agitation for liberty. In the *TFA (Things Fall Apart)* (1958), proverbs are used functionally in basically three different ways: (1) to cast light upon shades of argument which requires elucidation—Amplificatory function; (2) to suggest approaches which could be applied to recurrent social situations/problems—Authoritative function; and (3) to apply social pressure on enigmatic or deviant behaviours—Educative function. Sometimes there exist functional overlaps, whereby a proverb may perform more than one of the basic functions above. Rhetorical, image-making, and aesthetic functions underlie the three basic functions of proverbs mentioned above (cf. Nwachukwu-Agbada, 2002, pp. 93-134), because whenever a proverb is correctly applied, it is persuasive, prestigious, and ornamental. An area which is scarcely investigated in proverb functionality is its ideological base and the possible underpinnings of their existence. In this write-up, the proverbs as used contextually in the *TFA* will be investigated critically as they are used within the texts to unravel the imagery couched in them, their sociocultural significance and the possible foundations of their continued existence or otherwise.

### Conceptual Framework

The CDA (Critical Discourse Analysis) and Black’s Interaction View (1979) of metaphor will be applied. The core assumptions of CDA are that: (1) Ideologies reside in text; (2) Different linguistic usages, for example, lexical or syntactic choices encode different ideologies resulting from their situations and purposes and by this means language works as a social practice; and (3) Language is neither a transparent medium for communication about an objective world nor a reflection of a stable social structure, but it promulgates a set of version of reality and thereby works as a constantly operative part of social process. Therefore, in CDA texts are viewed from the angle of their relations to power and ideology (Fairclough, 2001, pp. 1, 28; 1995, p. 71; Locke, 2004, pp. 1-2; M. Bloor & T. Bloor, 2007, pp. 4-11; Malmkjaer, 2002, pp. 102-106; Wodak, 2001, 2007; Van Dijk, 1995, 2006, 2008, 2009). Nevertheless, Fairclough’s CDA approach, which is sociosemiotically inclined is adopted in this write-up. Critical to the core assumptions mentioned above are intertextuality of texts and implicit assumptions, which are a sine qua non to text analysis and comprehension. Next is the Black’s Interaction View of metaphor (cf. Black, 1979, pp. 28-29; Levinson, 1983, p. 148; Saeed, 2003, p. 346; Ortony, 1979, p. 187; Paivio, 1979, p. 151; Kress, 1989, p. 71). The core assumptions of the interaction view are that: (1) A metaphorical utterance has two distinct subjects, the primary (focus) and the secondary (frame); (2) The maker of a metaphorical utterance selects, emphasizes, suppresses, and organizes features of the primary subject by projecting upon it statements isomorphic with the members of the secondary subject’s implicative complex; subsequently, (3) The presence of

the primary subject invites the interlocutor to construct subject (imagery) and reciprocally induces parallel changes in the secondary subject.

### Methodology

With the aid of Fairclough's (1995, 2001) sociosemiotic approach to CDA and Black's Interaction View, eight out of 31 proverbs in the novel, which directly relate to the Igbo spirituality and belief in *Ofo*, *Ikenga*, and God are purposively and critically investigated by way of intertextuality, decontextualization, and implicit assumptions to reveal opaque structures, account for power relations among the subjects used in the texts, and imagery, and thereby reveal power relations in the texts. That is, all the eight proverbs are interpreted and explained. The proverbs are named in accordance with the main concepts (substantives) within the proverbs.

### Data Presentation and Analysis

#### Proverbs With Amplificatory Function

**The kola and life proverb. Context**—Event: Okoye visits Unoka, his friend to collect back his money. Unoka presents kola to him.

Participants: Okoye and Unoka.

In what relation: They are friends of unequal social status.

**Igbo oral proverb:** O wétéré ọjị wètèrè ndụ.

**Translation:** He who brings kola brings life (Achebe, 1958, p. 5).

**Interpretation:** Sense relations do not necessarily exist between *kola* and *life*. For instance, they do not belong to the same class of entity; there is neither a guarantee that eating of kola does not give life nor that abstaining from it takes away life. Rather bringing of kola to a visitor has meanings that transcend the physical entity denoted by the name kola. And that is good wishes and prayers for success in life. It is these abstract connotations that the speaker projects upon the kola, the primary subject.

**Explanation:** The concept of kola in Igbo sociocultural milieu has a strong ideological import. Kola suggests the idea of welcome and good wishes (invariably life) when offered to a visitor. In the Igbo socioculture, kola as a concept must not necessarily be a fruit from a kola tree. It can be some other edible thing or non-edible thing, for example, money, which is considered useful by the giver to the receiver (a visitor). It is used to maintain a cordial relationship and achieve peace between individuals, groups, communities, villages, and towns. It is used in social gatherings. Essentially and basically, bringing of kola suggests the invitation of the Supreme Deity—God to take control in the affairs of men. This is because kola cannot be taken or eaten without prayer said on it. The power relation between God and man is that of inequality. The belief is that the prayers made on kola (nuts) affect the lives of the consumers.

On account of the positive semantic associations projected on the concept of kola, its use is sustained and maintained in the social structures of the people.

**The eagle, kite, and wings proverb. Context**—Event: Okonkwo visits Nwakibie, a wealthy man who has three huge barns, nine wives, and 30 children. He takes a pot of palm-wine and a cock to him.

Participants: Okonkwo, Nwakibie and his two grown-up sons, and two elderly neighbors of Nwakibie.

In what relation: In unequal relation, because Okonkwo being poor has no yam seedlings to start life. He

begs Nwakibie to give him some so that he can do share cropping with him.

**Igbo oral proverb:** Égbé bèré, ùgò bèré, nké sị ibè yá é bèna, nku kàá yá.

**Translation:** Let the kite perch and let the eagle perch too, if one says no to the other, let his wings break (Achebe, 1958, p. 5).

**Interpretation:** In the text, what human co-existence portends in the socioculture is allegorically couched in metaphors of birds (the primary subjects), a part of the Igbo fauna. Although the kite and the eagle are both birds of prey and belong to the same family, they are not equal in strength and rank. While the eagle represents the rich, the kite represents the poor. In other words, the strong and the weak, the rich and the poor should peacefully co-exist. “If one says no to the other” (that is, that it should not perch), by further analogy, that he should not exist in the community, “let its wings break”. By implication, any one who does not want a peaceful co-existence should die off. If a bird’s wings break, it means that the bird is demobilized consequently, the bird will die. The proverb is an encapsulation of an ideology representing the meaning of human relations in Igbo sociocultural setting. The web of imagery which the producer of the text is welding here is quite fantastic. The eagle operates usually at a very high altitude and is scarcely seen in clusters. It is seen once in a blue moon. The other birds like kites operate at a much lower attitude. So, the eagle should not abandon its much revered position and condescend to the level of frustrating the lives of the smaller birds. However, should the eagle do that, the force that sustains it would work against it and kill it. In other words, should the sociopolitically vertical begin to oppress the sociopolitically horizontal, the Supreme Being will eliminate it. This is a very strong aspect of religious belief in Igbo society.

**Explanation:** The speaker draws from the resources of his sound knowledge of the fauna of his environment. The ideology of inequality is part and parcel of the speaker’s cosmological belief in duality in existence. The negative is always necessary and present to balance out the positive. Therefore, if the rich exists, the poor should also exist. It is the presence of the other that enables one to appreciate life from a particular reference point. For example, if the poor does not exist, it would be difficult to conceptualize what the rich is. Subsequently, the belief in polar opposites is a critical necessity in the social discourse of the Igbo milieu.

**The little bird—*nza*, a heavy meal and challenge of his *chi* proverb. Context—Event:** Okonkwo is provoked to a justifiable anger by his youngest wife, Ojiugo who goes to plait her hair at her friend’s house and does not return early enough to cook the afternoon meal for her husband, Okonkwo. In his anger he forgets that it is the Week of Peace and so he beats his wife heavily. Okonkwo is sanctioned according to the custom of the land. Okonkwo though repentant of his offence does not show it. Consequently, people say he has no respect for the gods of the land; that his good fortune goes into his head.

**Participants:** Okonkwo, Ojiugo, his youngest wife, his two other wives, neighbors, Ezeani, the priest of earth goddess.

**In what relation:** Here, there are networks of unequal relations: Okonkwo and his wives are in unequal relation, Okonkwo being higher than them in the social rank. But Okonkwo and the priest of Ani the earth goddess are also in unequal relation with the priest being higher in the social rank. So while Okonkwo’s presupposition supersedes his wives’, that of Ezeani supersedes his.

**Igbo oral proverb:** Há kpọrọ yá nwá nzá richáára nri chézọọ ónwé yá wéré chééré chí yá áká-ngbá.

**Translation:** They called him the little bird *nza* who so far forgot himself after a heavy meal that he challenged his *chi* (Achebe, 1958, p. 22).

**Interpretation:** The proverb is better understood through intertextual investigation and decontextualization. The little bird *nza* has certain features which are isomorphic with the character of Okonkwo. For example, on account of *nza*'s big chest and heavy crop size, it is seen as well fed and by implication satisfied; it perches too close to the ground, implicitly close to humans as if it were throwing a challenge that it cannot be caught or killed (by humans). These features of the little bird *nza* are projected upon Okonkwo. Humans are seen as gods vis-à-vis *nza*, just like the spirits are visualized vis-à-vis humans. Just like it is believed that the spirits direct the affairs of man, so it is also believed that humans direct the affairs of animals, birds and determine which one that lives or dies. Invariably, for a person "to challenge his *chi* (spirit) to a wresting bout" is tantamount to foolishness, because spirits are believed to be more powerful than humans. That is the meaning of the proverb which the Narrator welds in a complex, but candid imagery.

**Explanation:** The Narrator combines a good knowledge of the mode of life and adaptation of the little bird *nza*, a bird type in the fauna of the Igbo socioculture and the cosmological belief in the world of spirit to drive a message home. In the socioculture there is a very strong belief in spirits and their influence on human life. Discourses are constructed using aspects of the belief to teach lessons or to reprimand as in the case under investigation. Discourses that sustain the ethos of the socioculture such as the proverb above are sustained.

**A child's finger, mother, and pieces of hot yam proverb. Context—Event:** Okonkwo queries his friend Obierika on why he failed to accompany them in the killing of Ikemefuna. Obierika answers sharply that he does not want and insists that Okonkwo's action is the type that can cause a goddess to wipe out whole families. But Okonkwo disagrees with Obierika and maintains that the Earth cannot punish him for obeying her message.

Participants: Okonkwo and Obierika.

In what relation: They relate on equal grounds as friends.

**Igbo oral proverb:** Ọkụ nné ụnyèrè nwàtá n'áká á dighị è régbu yá.

**Translation:** A child's fingers are not scalded by pieces of hot yam which its mother puts in its hand (Achebe, 1958, p. 47).

**Interpretation:** One can come to grips with the meaning of the proverb through intertextual investigation and decontextualization. Okonkwo, the speaker sees himself as "a child's finger" which cannot be scalded by the responsibility of the killing of Ikemefuna visualized as "pieces of hot yam" given to him by the gods visualized as "his mother". It is easy to conceptualize the meaning of the proverb in this way, because both the secondary and the primary subjects in the proverb share isomorphic features. For example, the protective belief features of the gods such as guarding a person, leading a person to fortunes, keeping a person in sound health and so on are projected upon "its mother" who is seen as giving her child "hot pieces of yam". Okonkwo being "a child's finger" is conceptualized as unhurt being protected by the gods. That is the meaning of the proverb.

**Explanation:** The proverb draws on a lot of resources in the Igbo socioculture. The resources are the cosmic world of the spirits (as in mother/God), the flora (as in pieces of hot yam/tubers), and fauna (human resource as in a child's finger/Okonkwo). These resources constitute integral parts of the Igbo socioculture and therefore constitute ingenuous sources of discourses in the socioculture. The discourse of belief in God is a common sense in the socioculture.

**The tortoise in relation to trouble proverb. Context—Event:** In the solid massiveness of the night, Ekwefi tells her daughter a story in her hut. An oil lamp burns to produce yellow-half light with which they see.

The story is about how tortoise beguiled the birds into allowing him to lead them to a feast in the sky. In the story, birds and tortoise speak as though they were humans.

Participants: Ekwefi and Ezinma, her daughter.

In what relation: In a mother-daughter relationship.

**Igbo oral proverb:** O méré mmádu, méré onwe ya.

**Proverb:** I have learnt that a man who makes troubles for others is also making it for himself (Achebe, 1958, p. 68).

**Interpretation:** Here again intertextuality and decontextualization is required to come to proper grips with abstract imagery being welded by the speaker, the Tortoise. In the socioculture, tortoise is often treated in association with wily, crafty, and trickery behaviors which many a time lead to troubles. The imagery which the tortoise is used to generate in the Igbo socioculture often becomes consummated in folkloric dramatic ironies. In the context, tortoise having beguiled the birds into lending him wings to lead them to a celestial party, disappoints them by consuming all the food items given to “All of them” (a name he claims is his) in the sky. The birds, in their exasperation withdraw their wings from him. He comes crashing down terribly from the sky. His beguilement falls back on him. Dramatic ironies require distance to succeed. Implicitly, for one to give another worry or even to deceive another, one would have deceived oneself. That is the meaning of the proverb.

**Explanation:** The proverb stems from the Igbo sociocultural moral values and philosophy. Here again a part of the fauna is used to project the values and the philosophy of the people, in this case love of one’s neighbor and peaceful coexistence. Different sociocultures have different or similar ways of intergenerationally transmitting or sustaining their moral ethos and philosophy of life (Ukaegbu, 2006, pp. 164-167). In some sociocultures “dog” is used (for example French), in some the “hare” or “the fox” and so on.

### Proverbs With Educative Function

**Being at peace with gods and ancestors proverb. Context—Event:** Unoka consults Agbala, the Oracle of the Hills and Caves to find out why he always had a miserable harvest.

Participants: Unoka and Chika, the priestess of Agbala.

In what relation: Unoka and Chika relate at unequal basis. The moment Chika operates as the priestess of Agbala, she ceases to be a mere mortal, but stands tall as the representative of the God. Thus she interrupts Unoka’s inquiry: “Hold your peace!” screamed the priestess. (Achebe, 1958, p. 13)

**Igbo oral proverb:** Mgbè nwóké nà chí yá nà ndị íchiè dị n’nmá, òwùwè-íhé-úbí yá gà-àdị úkwú mọbụ npé síté n’étú úgbó yá hà.

**Translation:** When a man is at peace with his gods and his ancestors his harvest will be good or bad according to the strength of his arm (Achebe, 1958, p. 13).

**Interpretation:** The resources the priestess is drawing upon here are quite complex. It is better understood through intertextuality and decontextualization. The resources indicate the Igbo cosmological and extraterrestrial features just like the dual personality of the priestess would suggest. Through this medium an individual automatically has the advantage of both divinity and mortality—a dual personality. This idea of man transcending his inelastic limits is deeply rooted in Igbo metaphysical institution. A man being at peace with his gods and ancestors has avalanche of meaning associations such as absence of violence and squabbles in a man’s



life, inner serenity, soundness of health, spiritual strength and vigour, ingenuity, and resourcefulness, all for positive productive purposes. However, the positive productivity is dependent on the strength of the man's arm. Here the priestess draws upon the sociocultural resources of *Ofo*—the embodiment of the symbolic link between the living, the dead and the unborn, and *Ikenga*—the Igbo symbolic force of adventurism. It is the goal-getter spirit of the Igbo associated with good fortune, personal ability, war, and general success in life. It is ideologically associated with a man's right hand. Since a man's right hand in Igbo cosmology symbolizes positivism, his ability to utilize it most effectively for a considered goal puts him on the saddle of success and recognition. A man's basic strength among the Igbo is therefore to be found in his right hand. *Ikenga* is described as the cult of the right hand with which a man hacks his way through the jungles of sweat and bitter experiences known as life. The *Ikenga* is symbolized structurally by a carved wooden ram-headed human figure with two horns, a machete on the right hand, and a human head representing the booty on the left. It conceptualizes and visualizes man's strength in his head through his ideas and thoughts in the same way the strength of the ram is found in its head, but unlike the ram, uses his right hand to execute the plans of his brains (Nwaezeigwe, 2007, pp. 13-14). These meaning associations or implicative complexes are projected upon Unoka's situation in the text. His problems are neither caused by the gods nor the ancestors, which are forces greater than him. Rather his arm is weak. Thus, the priestess tells him: "You, Unoka, are known in all the clan for the weakness of your machete and your hoe..." She makes another proverb and finally asks Unoka to "go home and work like a man" (Achebe, 1958, p. 13).

**Explanation:** In the Igbo-socioculture while age is mostly respected, a man's achievements based on his personal enterprises are revered. To the Igbo, whose culture is portrayed in the novel, a man's worth is not measured by his inheritance, but by his personal enterprising efforts. Therefore, in the Igbo-milieu the discourse of enterprise is rigidly engraved in the sociocultural institutions as is evident in the cult of *Ikenga*. It is a common sense in the Igbo-socioculture.

**The cracking of palm-kernels and a benevolent spirit proverb. Context—Event:** During the meeting of Okonkwo's kindred to discuss the next ancestral feast, a man contradicts Okonkwo. Without looking at the man Okonkwo says: "This meeting is for men". The man who contradicts him has no titles. That is why Okonkwo calls him a woman. The utterance kills the man's spirit. Everybody in the kindred meeting takes side with the man, Osugo when Okonkwo calls him a woman.

Participants: Okonkwo, Osugo, the Oldest Man present and the rest of the kindred.

In what relation: The participants are in a hierarchical network of relations. Amongst them are the rich, the poor, the young, the old, the titled elders, and the untitled ones. The rich and the titled elders for example influence their counter parts to their own advantage.

**Igbo oral proverb:** Ndị chí ọmá tìirì ákì é kwésìghì í chèzọ ì dị úmé àlà.

**Translation:** Those whose palm-kernels were cracked by a benevolent spirit should not forget to be humble (Achebe, 1958, p. 19).

**Interpretation:** The ideational meaning of the text can be grasped through intertextual investigation of the ideologically used lexical items and through decontextualization. In the traditional Igbo-socioculture, the palm-kernel has a great deal of applications. First of all, the palm-kernels are manually broken in large quantities to extract the useful nuts. The breakage of the kernels is a very tedious and tiring job that may take days or weeks.

Any one who gets a helping hand from a friend/s or neighbor/s can consider oneself fortunate and should be grateful for that. The nuts extracted from the kernel are sold to make money for survival. In the proverb, the breakage of the palm-kernels is associated with the grim struggle involved in survival. By bringing in the picture of a benevolent spirit helping to alleviate a person's suffering, the Igbo cosmological belief in the Supreme-Being, *Chukwu* and his emissaries are brought into the limelight. The Supreme-Being is seen in the traditional African belief (particularly in that of the Igbo) as the determiner and sustainer of the people's destiny in life (Ifesieh, 1983, p. 115; Iwuagwu, 1998, p. 96; Ubrurhe, 2003, p. 24). Therefore, in the grim struggle to survive in life, if one makes it, one should be grateful to the Supreme-Deity, for he is the one that sustains and helps to achieve breakthroughs in life. Okonkwo's behavior suggests that he forgets that it is not just through personal struggle that one rises to fame. That is why the Oldest Man in the gathering calls him back to order by making the proverb.

**Explanation:** The traditional religious belief of the Igbo people is indigenous. It is not only natural to them; it is also ancestral and oriented towards personal and community development. In other words the religious belief permeates every aspect of their sociocultural life. The Igbo perceive the universe as having two worlds—the visible and the super sensible worlds—which can further be divided into four, namely, the world of God, the world of spirits, the world of nature, for example *Ala* (earth) (cf. Anedo, 2008, pp. 65-71; Okeke, 2008, pp. 112-119), and the world of man (Ezikeojiaku, 2008, p. 40). In the text, the speaker makes reference to the world of spirits. It is believed, that the spirits are appointed by *Chiukwu* (God) to help him in the onerous task of administering and supervising both the visible and the invisible worlds which he created. The Igbo derive their traditional religion, ritual, and sacrifices from this conceptualization of many gods. In this world view, the world of spirits is not only recognized but revered, too. For it is believed that if such reverence is not accorded the actors in the world of spirits, such actors would bring bad omen into the worlds of nature and man. That is why Okonkwo quickly says that he is sorry for what he does and the meeting continues. Invariably, metaphors speak for memory availability, because it creates vivid imageries in the mind's eye of the audience.

### Proverbs With Amplificatory/Authoritative Function

**Context**—Event: The Narrator eulogizes Okonkwo's grim struggle against poverty and his eventual victory. At early age he achieves fame as the greatest wrestler in the land. He insists that Okonkwo is not lucky, that at best one can say that his personal god or *chi* is good. To the Narrator, Okonkwo says "yes" to success and his *chi* agrees. And not only his *chi*, but his clan, too, because it judges a man by the works of his hand.

Participant: The Narrator.

**Igbo oral proverb:** Ónyé kwé, chí yá è kwé.

**Translation:** When a man says "yes" his *chi* says "yes" also (Achebe, 1958, p. 19).

**Interpretation:** What does a man say "yes" to? Why must his *chi* say "yes" also? By one saying "yes" is meant that one is determined to achieve a breakthrough in life. One's *chi* says "yes" compulsorily because in behaviorism which is the ideology behind the belief in personal god or *chi*, it is believed that each man determines the shape of his life. By making reference to *chi*, the speaker alludes to the world of man in Igbo cosmology. A man who has *chi* does not fear a fellow human being. Such a man is daring and adventurous, because he has his *Ikenga*—the cult of right arm (cf. Achebe, 1974, pp. 24-25). With his *Ikenga* he hacks his way through the thick and bitter experiences called life. Thus there is an imagery of a man's *chi*—God's emissary standing in affirmation beside the man and his actions.

Invariably, the proverb means that fortune is apt to favor the man who keeps his nerve. In the proverb the implicatures of behaviorism and the world of man in Igbo cosmology are projected upon “yes”.

**Explanation:** Success in adventures and enterprise is highly regarded in the Igbo-socioculture. Therefore, discourses that encourage or extol a breakthrough and raise the people’s achievement motivation are sustained in the Igbo-socioculture.

### Discussion of Findings

Translationally, Achebe adopts a domesticating strategy in the translatorial action of the Igbo oral proverbs. This is evident in the choice of lexical items used in the renditions. A good investigation of the proverbs indicates that in cadence, thought processes and concepts, the renditions though English represents the views of the source culture (Igbo) beliefs, mores, philosophies, aspirations and expectations. For example, a competent Igbo-English bilingual reading the novel sees his/her ethos recaptured in a language that reads like Igbo, yet not Igbo in linguistic representation. However, two exceptions can be seen in (1) section “The tortoise in relation to trouble proverb”: Igbo oral proverb: *O méré mmádu, méré onwe ya*; translation: I have learnt that a man who makes troubles for others is also making it for himself (Achebe, 1958, p. 68); and (2) section “A child’s finger, mother and pieces of hot yam proverb”: Igbo oral proverb: *Oku nné gunyèrè nwátà n’áká á dighì è régbu yá*. Translation: A child’s fingers are not scalded by pieces of hot yam which its mother puts in its hand (Achebe, 1958, p. 47). In those two instances, Achebe uses a foreignising strategy, because an attempt to use the domesticating approach would semantically dislocate the ideational meanings of the proverbs (cf. Oyetade & Ifesieh, 2013). Thus, the target audience would be misinformed. Said differently, the two proverbs contain pragmatic use variations. Therefore, they require a communicative approach (foreignising strategy), which enables the translator to build in sufficient redundancies that take care of unpredictabilities of the text (cf. Shannon & Weaver, 1998).

Ideologically, the proverbs stem from the core beliefs of the Igbo in industry, cordial human relations, extra mundane—(belief in the cult of ancestors, who invisibly interacts with the living and the unborn, that is, *Ofo*), *Ikenga*—(belief in the cult of the right Arm), the Supreme Being and socioeconomic and political experiences of life, whereby the presuppositions of the elders supersede the ones of the young. Belief in extraterrestrial forces underlies all the proverbs. Evidently, the traditional Igbo society is deeply religious and egalitarian. From the interpretations and explanations of the proverbs, it can be generally gathered that no meaningful discourse can be engaged on in the traditional Igbo society without reference to their religious beliefs. From the proverbs, it can also be derived that the Igbo cosmology is a composite one; there is an organic and unbroken relationship between the natural and the super sensible worlds. Within the bond of the composite world, sacredness of life, respect for spiritual nature of creation and of human person are suffused in the meaning of family, community, socioeconomic life, and human relations in general.

### Conclusions

Finally, the proverbs in *TFA* form the threads upon which the core ideologies of the Igbo people are represented in the plot of the novel. The avalanche of them in the novel is deliberate and they are used imaginatively to transmit the emotions, hurts, expectations, and aspirations of the Igbo people of Umuofia, the fictitious setting in the south-east of Nigeria.

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# Participatory Framework Invoked by Processing-Motivated Filler *Zhege* ('This-CL') in Chinese Conversations: An Embodied Perspective

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This paper takes an embodied perspective to describe the participatory framework invoked by Chinese proximal demonstrative filler *zhege* ('this-CL') when it occurs as reaction to processing problems in spontaneous conversations. As a frequently-occurring filler, *zhege* conventionally marks a suspension of utterance delivery and signals speakers' effort of formulating a target unit while helping them hold the turn. Meanwhile, *zhege* invokes for conversational participants a framework of participation in the formulating effort—it specifies that speakers have epistemic access to the target unit while not specifying so for co-participants and thus invokes speakers' unilateral participation in producing the target unit. This format of participatory management is not only semantically shaped by the indexicality of *zhege* as a proximal demonstrative, but also constituted by the embodied cues of speakers when they produce *zhege* and engage in the formulating effort. Analyses of naturally-occurring Chinese conversations show that at these moments, speakers regularly display bodily cues characterized by self-orientation and detachment from co-participants, thus reinforcing their unilateral participation in the effort while making irrelevant or discounting the potential participation by co-participants. This participatory framework invoked by using filler *zhege* has particular relevance to turn holding in social interaction, and these findings may have implication for cross-linguistic studies of demonstrative fillers.

*Keywords:* filler, *zhege*, demonstrative, embodied cues, Chinese

## Introduction

In spontaneous talk, a systematic and meaningful verbal byproduct is fillers. They generally arise from the processing problems in speech production and have some effect on speech comprehension. Demonstrative fillers, *inter alia*, are a particularly noticeable class of fillers, in that they not only reveal much about the psycholinguistic underpinnings of speech production, but also tend to specify a format of epistemic access to the delayed referent for conversational participants (Hayashi & Yoon, 2006). Thus, demonstrative fillers can affect interactional participation in some unique patterns. In this paper, the author focuses on the occurrence of Chinese proximal demonstrative filler *zhege* ('this-CL') as motivated by processing problems and describes the participatory framework it invokes from an embodied perspective.

Fillers that occur automatically as speakers' reaction to processing problems are usually understood as markers of delay, hesitation or disfluency, in contrast to fillers that result otherwise from speakers' deliberate manipulation for rhetorical or socio-interactional effects (Clark, 2006; Corley & Stewart, 2008). The underlying assumption about reactive fillers is that speakers are inclined to monitor their production and cope with processing challenges. The sources of challenges pertain to various aspects of spontaneous production, mainly including speakers' uncertainty (Barr, 2001; Smith & Clark, 1993), conceptualization of new information (Arnold, Fagnano, & Tanenhaus, 2003), formulation of major, long or complex discourse units (Barr, 2001; Beattie, 1979; Boomer, 1965), lexical-retrieval or word-search difficulty (Brennan & Williams, 1995; Schachter, Christenfeld, Ravina, & Bilous, 1991; Levelt & Cutler, 1983; Butterworth, 1979; Goldman-Eisler, 1968). These challenges are constantly present, posing trouble to on-line processing so that fillers as well as other hesitation phenomena may be anticipatable in spontaneous talk (Merlo & Barbosa, 2010).

An immediate effect of fillers in face to face interaction is turn holding. As processing problems arise, utterance production is likely to be suspended. Using fillers can help speakers hold a turn by cueing to co-participants that they still desire to keep the floor and the current turn is still unfolding (MacLay & Osgood, 1959; Ball, 1975; Schegloff, 1982; Clark & Fox Tree, 2002). In effect, using fillers might run less risk of being interrupted than using silent pauses where there is suspension of utterance delivery (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Beattie, 1977).

Apart from facilitating turn holding while delivery is suspended as a result of processing problems, specific types of filler may simultaneously carry implications about certain aspects of the ongoing delay. For instance, English conventional fillers *uh* and *um* are found to indicate the likely length of the delay projected by them—*uh* is used to signal a minor delay while *um* a major one (Fox Tree, 2001; Clark & Fox Tree, 2002). Demonstrative fillers are particularly noteworthy in this regard, in that they index participants' cognitive or epistemic relation with the delayed referent by virtue of their core indexical meaning. With such implications, the use of demonstrative fillers may have special effect on interactional management.

In what follows, drawing upon conversational data, the author documented the format of interactional participation in formulating the delayed referent specified by Chinese demonstrative filler *zhege*. The author first made a review of previous studies devoted to this specific topic, and then approached it otherwise from an embodied perspective.

### Filler *Zhege* in Conversations

Chinese proximal demonstrative *zhege* (a spoken variant being *zheige*) is morphologically composed of *zhe* ('this') and neutral classifier *ge* ('CL', literally meaning 'individual'), denoting the proximity and individuality of a referent, though the referent is not necessarily a singular entity (LÜ, 1999). Encoding proximal relations of a linguistic expression to aspects of context, *zhege* indexes deictic, tracking/anaphoric, discourse-deictic, and recognitional references, and allows both pronominal (as pronoun) and adnominal (as determiner or adjective) uses (cf. Himmelmann, 1996; Diessel, 1999; Lakoff, 1974).

In naturally occurring talk, *zhege* also frequently appears as a filler, marking a filled pause in the course of delivering what is due to be forthcoming and thus resulting in a delay of the target referent. Examples (1)-(2) are two illustrations (*zhege* in boldface for highlighting):

Example (1) YS-SQQSDTBYY 05:12

((Health talk show guest ZHANG uses a simile.))

1 → ZHANG: *Jiaru women-de jingmai shi changtong de, jiuxiang <sup>o</sup>zheige<sup>o</sup>:(.)* ((slightly gazes down))/e:

If we.GEN channels are smooth ADJ, just.like <sup>o</sup>this-CL<sup>o</sup>: uh:

2 *xueye jiu.xiang qiche yiyang*

blood just.like auto one.look

'If our channels are smooth, just like ((hesitates)) blood (channels) and (roads for) auto'

Example (2) YST-XZYC 39:06

((Health talk show guest LI, facing the audience, cautions not to take seriously a preliminary idea of his.))

1 → LI: *bu zu wei* (0.4) *zhege zhege dazhong-xing de xuanchuan*

not suffice for **this-CL this-CL** masses-mode MOD publicity

'(that idea) does not suffice for ((hesitates)) massive publicity'

2 LIU: *Mm.*

In each instance above *zhege* is unambiguously reactive to a processing trouble. The speakers use it (prolonged and duplicated respectively) to fill a portion of the silence so as to hold the turn before figuring out the target unit. Here, *zhege* is neither part of the propositional content nor lexically integrated to a larger phrase.

Demonstratives, proximal and distal, are shown to be utilized as fillers in a wide range of regionally and typologically different languages (Amiridze, Davis, & MacLagan, 2010; Hayashi & Yoon, 2006; Diessel, 1999). Contrary to "empty" fillers like *e* ('uh') and *m* ('um'), demonstrative fillers are conventional lexical items that are semantically charged. They retain, albeit not in all instances, the core meaning of indexicality of standard demonstratives and thus can indicate the way they are used in relation to the delayed referent and the way they configure participants' cognitive state about the referent. This clearly holds true for Chinese proximal demonstrative filler *zhege*.

When motivated by problems in formulating a target utterance unit, filler *zhege* is categorized by Hayashi and Yoon (2006) into placeholder or interjective hesitator depending on its formal and semantic relations to the unit. A placeholder participates in the morpho-syntactic structure of utterances by functioning as a provisional proxy for a more specific and explicit referent which is sought for and is upcoming, and thus it is referential and directs attention to that referent. By contrast, an interjective hesitator is not a syntactic constituent and non-referential, occurring flexibly in utterances simply to indicate the emergence of production problems. Interjective hesitator demonstratives are an outcome of "pragmaticization", through which demonstratives have lost referentiality and syntactic participation and thus have become pragmatic markers to monitor utterance delivery, functioning much like the "interjection" fillers *uh* and *um* (Clark & Fox Tree, 2002). A further criterion by which to distinguish a placeholder from an interjective hesitator is that the former foreshadows the morpho-syntactic and semantic categories of the sought-for element, while the latter entails no such congruence.

However, a distinction between placeholder and interjective hesitator in terms of referentiality, syntactic integration, and formal and semantic correspondence can hardly be maintained for filler *zhege* in a vast number of instances. *Zhege* has the potential to index reference to various types of referents (entities, attributes, events, etc.) and so it can represent multiple unit types and play versatile syntactic roles. A placeholder interpretation could in

principle be applied to almost all uses as long as the delayed referent can be denoted by *zhege*. Granted so, it would become impractical to maintain a discrete distinction between placeholder *zhege* and interjective hesitator *zhege* on the above grounds, since it would be rather haphazard to decide on whether a filler *zhege*, de facto, occupies a syntactic slot and then refers to a certain utterance element that comes subsequently. Even in circumstances where *zhege* functions additionally to preface certain types of conversational move, as Hayashi and Yoon (2006) have contradicted themselves, it also “retains at least some degree of indexicality, i.e., the function of ‘pointing’ the hearer in the direction of subsequent action and designating it as the common focus of interaction” (p. 529). That is to say, referentiality is present in both placeholder and interjective hesitator demonstratives. Therefore, it is not well-grounded to draw a demarcation between placeholder and interjective hesitator *zhege* based on formal and functional characteristics.

Nevertheless, it appears certain that filler *zhege*, to a great extent, retains referentiality and then directs joint attention to the delayed element which speakers make effort to formulate. Previous studies, as mentioned above, have shown that fillers in general can direct listeners’ attention to the upcoming unit. This could only be more so for *zhege*, in that demonstratives primarily function to point hearers’ attention to referents in the universe of discourse (Diessel, 2006; Himmelmann, 1996). This attentional effect is explicitly shown in hearers’ response as filler *zhege* occurs (optionally with attendant pauses and/or other fillers)—they tend to augment attention by granting (augmented) gaze to speakers. Since filler *zhege* has potential reference to and can direct attention to a more specific element made available subsequently, it is sometimes also seen as an initiator of self-repair, as is the case with some other demonstrative fillers (Fox, Hayashi, & Jasperson, 1996).

Besides, filler *zhege* also projects a configuration of participants’ cognitive state about the referent. It is proposed by many that by using *zhege* speakers display cognitive access to the referent yet without specifying whether hearers have such access, while by using the distal *nage* (‘that-CL’) they invoke shared access or remote access (Hayashi & Yoon, 2006; FANG, 2002; TAO, 1999; HUANG, 1999). Semantic studies have shown that proximal demonstratives designate the referent to be in close proximity, spatio-temporal, psychological or cognitive, to the deictic center (viz. the speaker) (Lyons, 1977; Fillmore, 1997). There is also a suggestion that an overall discourse function of proximal demonstratives is to index proximity, especially cognitive proximity (Averintseva-Klisch & Consten, 2007; Consten & Averintseva-Klisch, 2012). When using *zhege* as a filler in cases of processing problems, speakers leave an implication that the delayed referent, whether discourse-old or discourse-new, is what they know or familiar with (whether it is so for hearers is unspecified). Not unexpectedly, *zhege* is also labeled by some as a pre-positioned topic marker, which packages the following referent, old or new, as within speakers’ epistemic sphere (FANG, 2002; LIU, 2009). This observation is reflected in some positive sociolinguistic correlations between the frequency of using *zhege* and speakers’ degree of socialization and power (GUO, 2009; WANG, 2013), suggesting that more highly socialized and powerful speakers might signal greater proximity to entities within the universe of discourse.

Specifying that speakers have cognitive access/proximity to the sought-for referent but without specifying that listeners do so, filler *zhege* affects the organization of interaction in two ways. On the one hand, *zhege* indicates that the processing problem occurs at the “formulating” stage (see Levelt, 1993), in line with HUANG’s (1999) observation from a corpus analysis and Hayashi and Yoon’s (2006) observation. Comparably, Gaby (2004) has found in Thaayorre language that the proximal demonstrative filler *inhul* (‘this one’) indicates a minor



retrieval difficulty while the distal *yuunhul* ('that one') a major one. On the other hand, *zhege* invokes no invitation of participation by the hearer in the process of coping with the production problem, even though the hearer may volunteer collaborative participation (Hayashi & Yoon, 2006).

To complement purely semantic analyses, this paper takes an embodied perspective to examine this format of participants' epistemic access to the delayed referent specified by filler *zhege* and the attendant effect on managing participants' differential participation in the formulating process. The author will show how this format and interactional effect are reflected in speakers' embodied cues.

### Data

The data consist of naturally-occurring spontaneous conversations in which interlocutors are mutually present. They include video-taped episodes of TV talk show and interview program concerning health, economy, education and current affairs. They are collected from openly available online sources. Some of these conversations are dyadic with audiences present, some are triadic with audiences present, some are dyadic without audiences, and some are triadic without audiences. In view of the fact that the analyses in this study involve examining the accompanying embodied cues of speakers, it is justified that audio-only conversations are not included in the data.

The transcription of the original data is based on Chinese Pinyin Scheme (Mandarin phonetic transcription), with annotations of some relevant paralinguistic and non-verbal features. Tokens of *zhege* as filler (rather than standard demonstrative) are marked in boldface. Responses in which the verbal modality consists merely of particles resembling English response tokens such as *uh* and *um* are presented only as a single line of their English counterparts. The transcription symbols and glossing abbreviations are listed in Appendices A and B. Two excerpts of the transcribed conversations have already been shown in the above.

### Embodied Cues of Participatory Framework

A normative expectation in interaction is that conversational participants display mutual attention so as to establish interactional coordination (Kendon, 1967; C. Goodwin, 1981; Vertegaal, Slagter, van der Veer, & Nijholt, 2001). They do so most explicitly by showing gaze to one another. While using *zhege* in response to processing difficulty like formulation trouble, speakers tend to employ a different pattern of attention allocation and gaze shape characterized by self-orientation and detachment from co-participants. The import of this embodied practice is an effort of production on the one hand and a signal of speakers' specification of participants' differential participation in the effort on the other.

#### Making Irrelevant Co-participants' Access and Participation

In the data, where filler *zhege* arises as a reaction to processing difficulty, speakers are inclined to simultaneously or subsequently withdraw their gaze from the current recipient and then, upon the possible completion of formulating, return their gaze to the recipient or in some circumstances to the video cam, optionally making accompanying head movements. This contour of gaze withdrawal and return amounts to a "thinking" gesture, consistent with the findings by Beattie (1979), M. H. Goodwin and C. Goodwin (1986), Heylen (2006), etc.. It has been observed that speakers look away from the recipient while dealing with processing trouble to concentrate attention, avoid distraction and forestall responses (Kendon, 1967; Argyle,

Ingham, Alkema, & McCallin, 1973; Argyle & Cook, 1976). Furthermore, doing so makes irrelevant co-participants' access to the target referent and potential participation in the formulating effort.

One common shape of speaker gaze withdrawal is a leftward gaze-off. In Example (3), while YANG has previously been gazing at his interlocutors, he uses *zhege* (sounding as *zhei<sup>o</sup>ge<sup>o</sup>*) (line 1) when planning the upcoming clausal unit and then immediately gazes off left during a pause. Upon the possible completion of the planning, he returns gaze to them and resumes the utterance delivery.

Example (3) YST-PDSBQ2 05:25

((Health talk show guest YANG describes what a video clip has just shown.))

1 → YANG: *Gangcai zhege da pingmu shuo.le zhei<sup>o</sup>ge<sup>o</sup>* (.)/(slightly turns gaze off left, returns gaze))  
Just.now this-CL big screen say.PST **this-<sup>o</sup>CL<sup>o</sup>**

2 *yong zhongchengyao lai paidu zhan.le shi diyi wei de*  
use Chinese.patent.drug to expel.toxin take.PST is first position DC  
'The screen just showed ((hesitates)) using Chinese patent drug ranks the top toxin-expulsion method'

Similarly in Example (4), subsequent to a video-clip show hostess TIAN initiates with *zhege* a resumptive sequence and later uses *zhege* again during a word-search effort. Here, TIAN has maintained gaze at ZHANG from the outset of the sequence through the initiating *zhege* until she produces the word-search *zhege*. At this hesitation point, she instantly gazes off leftward and then back to ZHANG within a 0.6-second pause (line 1) before finally articulating the target word *fangshi* ('mode') (line 2).

Example (4) YS-SQQSDTBYY 03:01

1 → TIAN: **Zheige** (.) *chuli zhege touteng-touyun de: zheige* (0.6)/((gazes off left and back))  
**This-CL** treat this-CL headache-dizziness MOD: **this-CL**

2 *fangshi ye shi wuhua-bamen de*  
mode also is various DC  
'((hesitates)) treating headache & dizziness employs various ((hesitates)) modes'

3 ZHANG: ((nods)) *Mm*

A leftward gaze-off as such is a common itinerary of gaze withdrawal found in the data. By temporarily removing gaze from the recipient, speakers devote attention to their unilateral formulating effort and meanwhile make irrelevant interlocutors' access to the sought-for element and potential participation in the effort.

Yet the most common itinerary of gaze withdrawal found in the data is a down-left tilt of gaze. Gaze tilt is likely to co-occur with head tilt, and these movements of speakers are typical indicators of thinking or processing when the turn is still unfolding (Ishi, Ishiguro, & Hagita, 2014) (see Example (5)). Guest JIA has been switching gaze between different recipients (hostess YUE and the audience), and at the beginning of this sequence his gaze is maintained at the audience.

Example (5) YST-YSZJSLF 11:04

1 → JIA: *Hai you yixie jiduan de* (0.6) *bijiao* (.) *zhei<sup>o</sup>ge<sup>o</sup>* ::: (0.4)/((tilts gaze slightly down left))  
Still have some extreme ADJ relatively **this-<sup>o</sup>CL<sup>o</sup>** :::

2 *dajia*/((gazes back at audience)) *tingqilai dou jue**de* ((gazes at Y)) *bukesi**yi* [*de kesou*  
everyone sound all feel inconceivable ADJ cough

‘There still are some extreme cough cases, relatively ((hesitates)) sounds inconceivable to everyone’

3 YUE:

[Mm

As difficulty arises in searching for an adjectival element projected by the foregoing structure and especially the preceding adverb *bijiao* (‘relatively’) (line 1), JIA’s attention is directed to the unilateral searching effort, shown by the 0.4-second slight down-left tilt of gaze following the prolonged filler *zhege* (sounding as *zhei<sup>o</sup>ge<sup>o</sup>*). Upon resuming the delivery of a repair that is to introduce the target adjectival element *bukesiyi* (‘inconceivable’), he simultaneously returns gaze to the recipients, first to the audience and then to hostess YUE (line 2).

Another characteristic example of down-left gaze tilt is Example (6), in which hostess YUE encounters trouble in formulating a nominal element (line 1). She first uses *zhege* in the slot of the nominal, and then devotes a pause to planning the element, which involves an attentional shift signaled by the half-closure of eyes and the down-left gaze tilt.

Example (6) YST-YSZJSLF 08:16

- 1 → YUE: ((faces audience)) *ranhou a genju ta zhege kousou-de zhege* (.) (0.8)/((half-closes eyes, then PRT according he this-CL cough.GEN **this-CL**
- 2 → looks slightly down left)) *shijian/((starts to face up)).de changduan* ((gazes back at audience)) time.GEN length
- 3 *lai panduan daodi shi shenti-de shenme buwei yinfa de zheyang de kesou*  
to judge on.earth is body.GEN what part cause MOD such MOD cough  
‘then according to one’s cough’s ((hesitation)) duration judge what body part on earth is the cause’
- 4 ((continues))

Speakers are also found to withdraw gaze from the current recipient by turning gaze straight down, which is usually accompanied by eyes-narrowing and/or a slight bend-down of head. In Example (1), there is such a token. Here Example (1) is reproduced as Example (7). As ZHANG is searching for a word so as to establish a simile, she looks away from the current hearers by slightly gazing down, pursuing a unilateral effort in figuring out a target word.

Example (7) YS-SQQSDTBYY 05:12

((Health talk show guest ZHANG uses a simile.))

- 1 → ZHANG: *Jiaru women-de jingmai shi changtong de, jiu xiang <sup>o</sup>zheige<sup>o</sup>:* (.) ((slightly gazes down))/e:  
If we.GEN channels are smooth ADJ, just like <sup>o</sup>this-CL<sup>o</sup>: uh:
- 2 *xueye jiu xiang qiche yiyang*  
blood just like auto one.look  
‘If our channels are smooth, just like ((hesitates)) blood (channels) and (roads for) auto’

Again, in Example (8) ZHANG, sitting face to face with the audience, converses with two different interlocutors TIAN and CHEN, who sit to her front left and front right respectively. While switching her gaze from TIAN to CHEN, ZHANG suspends the movement in mid-course at a point of retrieval problem signaled by filler *zhege*. Subsequently, she engages further attention in the retrieval effort by narrowing eyes and

slightly bending head down, until she succeeds in producing the target *qvtengpian* ('painkiller') and simultaneously gazes up to CHEN.

Example (8) YST-SQQSDTBBY 03:21

- 1 ZHANG: ((starts to gaze off T)) *guasha zhiliao touteng ne* ((gazes at cam)) *gen zhege*  
 skin.scraping treat headache TP with **this-CL**  
 2→ ((narrows eyes, bends slightly down)) *qvtengpian/((gazes up to Ch)) hai you qvbie*  
 painkiller still have distinction  
 '(using) skin-scraping to treat headache is different from ((hesitates)) (using) painkiller'

3 CHEN: *Mm*

In some instances, gaze withdrawals are accompanied with gesticulation characterized by an up-and-down movement or roll of hand(s). Gesticulation is found to facilitate lexical retrieval in contexts of processing difficulty (Butterworth & Hadar, 1989; Hadar & Butterworth, 1997; Hadar, Wenkert-Olenik, Krauss, & Soroker, 1998; Krauss & Hadar, 1999). A case in point is Example (9), where gesticulation is part of the speaker's word-search effort (line 2), alongside the gaze withdrawal and downward head movement.

Example (9) QSRX-2014011807:25

- 1 DOU: ((gazes rightward at X)) *Zhege ren la zhe hen you yisi, yao rang wo* (.) *jiao wo shuo ha*  
 This-CL person TP this very have fun, if let me ask me say PRT  
 2→ *ta ye suan shi zhege: e: (.)* ((withdraws gaze, turns head straight downward and gesticulates))  
 he also count is **this-CL**: uh:  
 3 *jiushi* ((starts to gaze up and to turn head back to X)) *zhiwu-zhi-bian*  
 namely post.GEN-convenience  
 'This guy is funny, I'd say (his conduct) counts as (abusing) the convenience of his post'

In addition, some other forms of gaze withdrawal from recipients following or accompanying filler *zhege* are also found in the data, including simply narrowing eyes, rolling eyes, and squinting. They all, like the previous forms, indicate that speakers are engaged in the unilateral formulating effort and attempt to forestall co-participants' response. Such embodied cues reinforce the impression that co-participants' epistemic state about the target referent is irrelevant and they are not invited into the seeking effort.

Recipients, as the data show, tend not to chime in while the current speaker is engaged in the post-*zhege* formulation effort, except that they might provide back-channel cues like *mm* as a response to speaker's finally successful delivery of the target unit. This is in line with the observation that co-participants' epistemic access is unspecified and their participation during the process is made irrelevant.

### Discounting Co-participants' Access and Participation

In cases where recipients actually volunteer collaborative participation in formulating the referent, the speaker tends still to uphold his autonomy of access to the referent (Hayashi & Yoon, 2006). Doing so can in effect discount recipients' access and co-participation while reinforcing the speaker's unilateral engagement. One such example is in (10).

Example (10) YST-XZYC 22:09

((LI, with hostess LIU, refers to the abundance of doctor's advice.))

- 1 LI: *Suoyi ni-de xun-yi-xing* (.) *women yisheng jiaozuo xun-yi-xing*  
 So you.GEN follow-doctor-quality we doctors call follow-doctor-quality  
 ‘So one’s doctor’s advice-abundance, we doctors call so,’
- 2 LIU: *Mm*
- 3→ LI: *jiushi ni zunxun yizhu de zhezhong zhege*(0.5)/((gazes off leftward and back))  
 namely you follow doctor’s advice MOD this-kind **this-CL**
- 4→ ><sup>o</sup>*zhege*<sup>oo</sup>*zhege*<sup>o</sup><[(*shiyi*-)]  
 ><sup>o</sup>**this-CL**<sup>oo</sup>**this-CL**<sup>o</sup><(proper-)  
 ‘namely one’s ((hesitates)) of following doctor’s advice’
- 5→ LIU: [*luoshi chengdu*=  
 implement degree=  
 ‘implementation degree’
- 6 LI: =*a a a luoshi chengdu, jiu he zhongyang-de haozhao yiyang, luoshi chengdu bu hao*  
 =oh oh oh implement degree, just with central.GEN call same, implement degree not good  
 ‘oh, implementation degree, just like the Party Central Committee’s call, (it) is not well implemented.’

LI has been searching for a nominal unit projected by the utterance-so-far (lines 3-4). He suspends the delivery with *zhege* and then gazes off leftward to devote attention to the formulating effort (line 3). Upon possible completion, he gazes back and goes on to deliver the target unit prefaced by two tonally weakened and rushed *zheges* (line 4). Overlapping the target unit, LIU proffers a candidate nominal (line 5). However, in response (line 6), LI structurally latches Liu’s utterance and his own, uses a triplicate of interjection *a* (‘oh’) as a preface to a repeat of the nominal, and then pursues a first assertion on that referent. The latter two practices, in particular, are recognized as methods to uphold an independent epistemic position as regards the referent (Heritage, 2002; Heritage & Raymond, 2005). Liu’s volunteered access and participation are thence severely discounted. A comparable example is found in (11):

Example (11) SINA.EDU-LXJYFCC 05:47

((Hostess MA of web media platform Sina Education interviews CHEN (vice-President of child education institution Langxun Education), who has on behalf of Langxun Education just received an award from Sina. MA and CHEN sit side by side facing the cam. Here CHEN assesses the importance of Langxun’s strategic cooperation with some global education publishers.))

- 1 CHEN: (((Faces cam)) *Buguan buguan shi duiyu women* [*hezuo huoban laijiang* [*hai shi duiyu*  
 No.matter no.matter is for our cooperation partner TP or is for  
 ‘Whether for our partners or for’
- 2 MA: (((Faces Chen)) [((turns to cam)) [*Mm*
- 3 CHEN: *women-de zhege guangda de zhe zhong e::*(0.8) *zheige* ((rolls eyes: onset))/*zheige::*  
 we.GEN this-CL vast ADJ this kind uh:: **this-CL** **this-CL::**
- 4 [((0.3) e: (0.4) ((rolls eyes: coda)) [*(shao-*) [*>A< xuesheng xuesheng pengyou laijiang ha*  
 uh: (ki-) >OH< student student friend TP FP  
 ‘this kind of our vast ki-, oh, students, student friends’



By projecting the cognitive availability of the delayed referent, *zhege* signals the definiteness of the referent and combats an implication of conceptual difficulty. Employing the concomitant embodied cues that show a momentary attentional detachment from the co-participants and a devotion to unilateral effort in the formulation can help speakers secure holding the turn, though not guaranteeing it. As has been suggested by Kendon (1967) and C. Goodwin (1981), speakers' attention to and gaze at co-participants not only signal addresseehood to them, but more pertinently attend to their co-participation in the joint activity and expect their response. A good case in point is where back-channeling is expected, speakers tend to gaze at recipients to invite them to offer some cues to collaborate in the current turn construction (Bavelas, Coates, & Johnson, 2002). Thus, not granting gaze to or removing gaze from the recipients during word search process implies the absence of expectation of recipients' contribution at that very moment. Using these embodied cues alongside *zhege*, speakers work to forestall recipients' "premature" response or even collaborative interruption. Furthermore, this embodied practice also reinforces speakers' access to the target referent as specified by *zhege* and discounts the relevance of recipients' access.

Processing-motivated filler *zhege* is revealing about the psycholinguistic and cognitive mechanisms of speech production, yet it simultaneously invokes an interactional framework for participants. Exploitation of *zhege* as a filler has a particularly noticeable role to play in helping speakers hold the turn as the turn-unfolding is momentarily suspended. This *sui generis* feature of filler *zhege* is traceable to the epistemics specified by the core indexical meaning of *zhege* as a standard proximal demonstrative.

As outlined above, demonstratives, proximal and distal, are a noticeable source of fillers in a wide range of languages. They differ from the conventional "empty" fillers in that they carry the essential indexicality and point to the upcoming target unit. With this semantic quality, demonstrative fillers have the potential to integrate themselves into the morpho-syntactic structure of utterance and can combat a sense of disfluency. It is precisely this characteristic that underlies demonstrative fillers as potentially effective turn-holders where processing problems result in the suspension of delivery. Proximal demonstrative fillers, in particular, index cognitive proximity and suggest speakers' knowingness as regards the delayed referent, so they could diminish any implication of delivery resumption difficulty. Chinese proximal demonstrative filler *zhege* cues this information, while "empty" fillers do not carry such epistemic cues and the distal *nage* ('that-CL') may imply remote access and indeed is less often used as filler (HUANG, 1999). By virtue of this signal, *zhege* invokes speakers' epistemic access to the sought-for target and a framework in which speakers seek for the target unilaterally.

When utterance delivery runs into potential disruption, there is still a preference for within-turn progressivity, as is the case with word searches (Schegloff, 1979; Stivers, 2006). The competence in holding the turn during word searching process is a fundamental aspect of the competence of social actors in interaction. This type of competence is constantly monitored and displayed by them in turn construction, as conversational turns are sought and valued in the give-and-take of interaction (Sacks, et al., 1974). Interactional participants orient to their own image as a competent contributor to the communication event. As Goffman (1967) put,

In general, then, a person determines how he ought to conduct himself during an occasion of talk by testing the potentially symbolic meaning of his acts against the self-images that are being sustained. In doing this, however, he incidentally subjects his behavior to the expressive order that prevails and contributes to the orderly flow of messages. (pp. 38-39)

Progressive presentation of information is crucial for the maintenance of the image as a competent social actor.

Moreover, embodied cues carry essential clues about the import of utterances. A more comprehensive examination of the use of verbal expressions can be informed by a wider perspective that takes into account multiple modalities. Lastly, the findings in this study may have implication for cross-linguistic examinations of the use of proximal demonstrative fillers that are motivated by processing problems. To what extent proximal demonstrative fillers in other languages invoke the same participatory framework as *zhege* does demands further inquiry.

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**Appendix A: Transcription Symbols**

[ ]	overlap
(0.5)	pause length
(.)	micropause
,	clausal-TCU boundary or continuing intonation
-	word cut-off or hesitation
?	questioner rising intonation
:	prolonged syllable
=	latched utterances
/	cooccurrence
<sup>o</sup> word <sup>o</sup>	softer talk
CAPS	louder talk
<word>	markedly prolonged talk
>word<	markedly rushed talk
()	uncertainty about the transcription
(word)	best guess of the transcription
((word))	non-verbal cue or transcriber's note
<u>word</u>	stress

**Appendix B: Glossing Abbreviations**

ADJ	adjective marker
CL	classifier
DC	declarative
FP	final particle
GEN	genitive
MOD	modifier marker
PL	plural
PRT	particle
PST	past
TP	topic particle

## Chat Alert! Language in Danger?

### On the Chat Language of Flemish Adolescents and Young Adults

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Is interlanguage becoming the common colloquial speech in Flanders? De Caluwe (2009) used the four features put forward by Lemahieu (2008) to state this argument. Although Lemahieu focused on Standard Dutch, these features can also be used for research of written interlanguage. This contribution examines chat language of 60 subjects, both male and female, within the five Flemish provinces (A (Antwerp), EF (East Flanders), FB (Flemish Brabant), L (Limburg), and WF (West Flanders)). Next to gender and geographical divisions age is also taken into account. The research is based upon several online chat conversations that were fragmented and analyzed. The analysis of the above-mentioned variants per participant, age, and province gives an idea of the presence of interlanguage. The variants of Lemahieu are therefore an interesting tool, because they provide data regarding how many times a representative selection of Flemish chatters with regard to a set of variants choose to use interlanguage in a situation in which they have the choice to use inter- or standard language. The conclusion resulting from this research reveals that there are indeed regional variants and there is a high percentage of interlanguage, but Standard Dutch still prevails. Therefore, it is claimed that chat language does not impoverish the standard written language, but enriches it and that it rather should be considered as change in progress.

*Keywords:* written interlanguage, chat language, change in progress, Flanders

#### Introduction

According to Watt (2010) digital computer technology “has become [...] an increasingly popular means of communication” (p. 141). Van de Craen (2005) agreed by stating that almost every youngster chats nowadays. Nevertheless, the English verb “to chat” is subject to a specific use. When writing a letter to someone, it normally takes a while before you get an answer. Nevertheless, people who chat with one another do not have to wait that long. Chatters, as the people who chat are called, select a preferred chat box or chat room on the Internet and leave several messages there, which appear immediately on the screen of the other chatters that are present, also called “logged in”, at that moment.

The second difference with writing or sending a letter has to do with the number of recipients. When writing a letter you normally have a specific person in mind you are writing to. This does not have to be the case when chatting. As mentioned above, chatters pick their preferred chat box and can easily talk with other online chatters without knowing them personally. Therefore, it is different from sending or writing a letter: The participants of

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the “chat meeting” are all present at the same time and respond to one another, using these chat messages, resembling a conversation in real time.

Table 1

*The Differences Between Writing a Letter and Chatting*

Writing a letter	Chatting
The answer takes a while	Immediate answer
Directed to a specific person	Directed to several persons
The participants are at different places	The participants are in the same “chat room”
Both written	

It is clear that when people “chat”, they are using their computer. The chatting happens through chat boxes and chat rooms on the Internet. These chatters are not at the same place but are present at several locations. Nevertheless, they are all logged in at the same place: the chat box. Besides, we are dealing with written language and not spoken language.

Each message in these chat rooms starts with the name of the chatter, or, better said, its nickname, because chatters will rarely use their own first or last name. They create a sort of “alias”, which contains all sorts of signs they can find on their keyboard, for example “J€\$\$1c4” (Jessica), “L1l M1\$\$ \$0m3th1ng” (Lil [Little] Miss Something), and “W84M3” (Wait for me). These names are called “usernames” and are often linked to a password.

But what makes this chat language so intriguing and why is it so interesting to examine? It all has to do with the written language and how it has gotten a different function through chatting and through other forms of informal Internet communication (Schlobinski, 2005). Until a few years ago, written language was not used for synchronous communication. That has changed. The online communication in chat boxes resembles “face-to-face” communication, although these conversations do not happen “face-to-face”, they are written and Internet-based. Vandekerckhove (2009) claimed that this results in two maxims, which chatters use consciously or automatically:

(1) Write as you speak. The purpose of writing something down is mainly to hold on to it for a while, to think about the content and write correctly, sometimes even re-write. Writing is therefore not an easy process. Nevertheless, speaking is much easier. When chatting, many elements that are also displayed in speaking are present.

(2) Write as fast as you can (or try to increase your typing speed). Sometimes people want to tell so many things, it has to happen fast. In chatting, the same happens: The writing happens fast and, as with speaking, the official spelling is often not taken into account and punctuation is omitted, leading to this so-called “interlanguage”.

In his article “Tussentaal Wordt Omgangstaal in Vlaanderen”, De Caluwe (2009) agreed with Vandekerckhove, by stating that interlanguage is becoming the common colloquial speech in Flanders. He used the following features, put forward by Lemahieu (2008) as his main arguments. Examples (1)-(4) given in the “Flemish interlanguage” part are not fixed and can differ from one another depending on the investigated province (cf. section “Research for This Specific Study”):

(1) The diminution on *-je* or *-ke*;

Example (1) Standard Dutch: *huisje* (little house), *boompje* (little tree), *tuintje* (little garden)

Flemish interlanguage: *huiske*, *boomke*, *tuineke*

(2) The use of the *je-* or *ge-*system;

Example (2) Standard Dutch: *je, jij*, and formal *u*

Flemish interlanguage: *ge, gij*, and *u* in both formal and informal language use

(3) The inflection of articles, possessive, and demonstrative pronouns and adjectives;

Example (3) Standard Dutch: *een grote hond* (a big dog)

Flemish interlanguage: *ne groten (h)ond*

(4) The use of a “redundant” *dat* (*that*) with conjunctions and pronouns.

Example (4) Standard Dutch: *ik weet niet of dat kan* (I do not know whether that is possible)

Flemish interlanguage: *ik weet niet of dat dat kan*

### Research for This Specific Study

#### Objective

The objective of this research is to examine chat language of 60 male and female subjects from the five Flemish provinces A (Antwerp), EF (East Flanders), FB (Flemish Brabant) with Brussels, L (Limburg), and WF (West Flanders) (see Figure 1) on the basis of the above-mentioned features. By doing so a statement can be made on the manner these subjects apply the four variants of Lemahieu. Next to taking a look at significant similarities and differences between the different provinces and the gender of the subjects, age is also taken into consideration by dividing them into three age groups: from  $\pm 15$  to 20 years old (adolescents), from 21 to 25 years old, and from 26 to 30 years old (young adults).

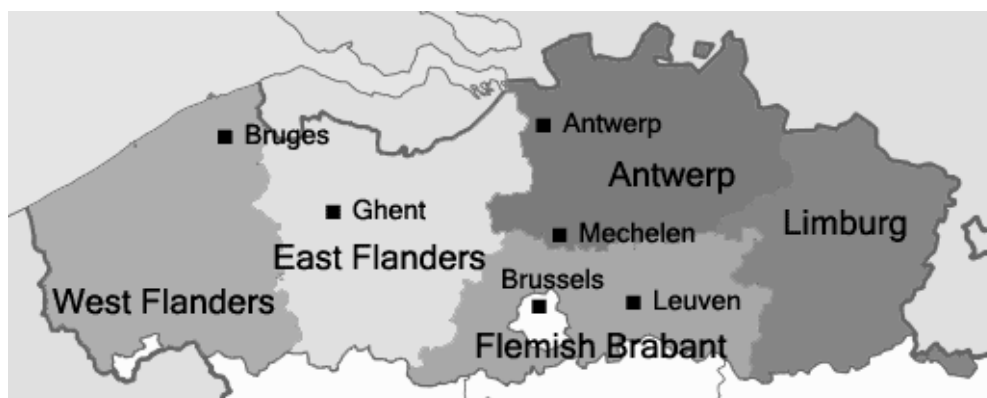


Figure 1. The provinces in Flanders. Source: Adapted from Vanhaleweyk (2014).

#### Material

The research is based upon several online chat conversations that were fragmented and analyzed. The material for this research was collected in 2010 and 2011 on the website <http://www.chat.to.be>. This “chat channel” was chosen because of the possibility to log in to a specific provincial chat room. Because the chat room “obliges” you to actively participate to the conversations (after a silence of 20 minutes the person gets “kicked out” of the chat room), the author decided to focus on “private chat conversations”. By doing so the author could easily chat with both male and female subjects and analyze their personal language use. The author’s utterances, which were written as faithfully as possible in Standard Dutch, were not taken into account in the final research. Remarkably, no significant differences in the subjects’ language were found when the

author wrote in Standard Dutch or Flemish interlanguage, as shown in the following tables (only two examples are given). This means the subjects did not switch from Flemish inter- to Standard Dutch language or vice versa when the author did so.

The conversations include the same investigated subjects (<T> and <V>) at a different time and the author using two different nicknames (here twice indicated as <E>) in order to maintain a certain amount of reliability (see Tables 2-3).

Table 2

*Chat Conversations in Standard Dutch and Flemish Interlanguage (Same Subject) Between E and T*

Conversation 1a (Standard Dutch) Subject <T> (FB, 30 years old, male) 09/02/2011	Conversation 1b (Flemish interlanguage) Subject <T> (FB, 30 years old, male) 13/02/2011
<T> hey <E> hallo, alles goed met je? <T> ja zenne en medu? <E> met mij is ook alles goed :) <T> was je asl? <E> 22 v Vlaams-Brabant :) mag ik de jouwe ook? <T> tuurlijk <T> kben 30 vl-br <T> kzen mss een beetje te oud voor u? <E> ik ben niet op zoek naar een relatie hoor <E> een ontspannend praatje is al meer dan genoeg <T> ah <T> ja, dan zijnder geen probleemkes eh <T> kzen eigenlijk wel op zoek <T> ma kwil gerust me u gewoon babbele zenne <E> ok :) <T> zijde nog een studenteke?	<E> hallo, stoork ni? <T> nee zenne, was je asl? <E> 22 v vl-br en den uwe? <T> kben 30 vl-br <T> kzen mss een beetje te oud voor u? <E> kzen ni op zoek hoor :) gwn een babbelke is voldoende :) <T> ah <T> ja dan hemme we geen probleemkes eh <T> kzen eigenlijk wel op zoek ma een gwn babbelke medu is ook goe zenne <E> ok :) wa doede zoal int leve? <T> werkende mens eh :) <T> en gij? <T> ook of nog een studenteke?

Table 3

*Chat Conversations in Standard Dutch and Flemish Interlanguage (Same Subject) Between E and V*

Conversation 1a (Standard Dutch) Subject <S> (EF, 22 years old, female) 10/05/2011	Conversation 1b (Flemish interlanguage) Subject <S> (EF, 22 years old, female) 24/05/2011
<V> hedde een vriendje? <E> ja :) en jij? <V> ok <V> ma kzen ni gelukkeg <E> dan moet je ervoor zorgen dat je terug gelukkig wordt <V> das ni makkelek <V> kzen vri zot van da gastje ze <V> ma hij zit bij een andere madammeke	<V> en hedde gij een vriendje? <E> ja :) en gij? <V> neeje, kware ni gelukkeg <E> ow, vertel? als ge wilt? <V> kware vri zot van me gastje <V> ma hij had nog andere madammekes <V> kware ni alleene <V> en da es nooit ni goe <V> dus kem em ne sjet gegove

To avoid the so-called “Observer’s Paradox” (cf. Labov, 1972), the objects were not informed on or about this research, because it might have influenced their spontaneous language use. Because all the objects used nicknames and no personal details were given no violations on privacy have occurred. Nevertheless, a remark needs to be made. The information for this research is based upon the information given by the subjects. It is fairly easy to fake an identity and pretend to be someone else in this specific environment. Therefore, this research is mainly based on the information given by registered members, trying to avoid the amount of fake information.

## Methodology

The analysis of the above-mentioned variants per participant, age and province gives an idea of the presence of interlanguage in the different Flemish provinces and age categories. The variants of Lemahieu (2008) are therefore an interesting tool, because they provide data regarding how many times a representative selection of Flemish chatters (60 subjects) with regard to a set of variants (Lemahieu's variants) choose to use interlanguage in a situation in which they have the choice to use Flemish inter- or Standard Dutch language.

An example is given to illustrate: When looking at the following sentence in Flemish interlanguage, one can wonder whether all the words in this sentence are indeed written interlanguage: *Ge kan dat niet* instead of the Standard Dutch *Je kan dat niet* (*You cannot do that*). Only the *ge* in the first sentence can be categorized as being "interlanguage". The other words are written in the same way as in the Standard Dutch equivalent. Therefore,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the sentence is still considered to be Standard Dutch.

## Results

In this research, the chat language of 60 subjects was investigated on the basis of four features, which leads to the following results:

(1) The provinces L and WF constantly use the diminution on *-je*. This applies to both genders and all age categories. The other provinces use a higher percentage of the diminution on *-ke*.

(2) The subjects using the official Standard Dutch *je-system* are all adolescents in L and all subjects in WF. A was the only province in which all subjects used the *ge-system*. No significant differences were found concerning the different genders.

(3) When looking at the inflections, different results were obtained, even within the provinces themselves. Nevertheless, as with the diminution and the *je-* or *ge-system*, no significant differences were found between the male and female subjects: (a) An inflection of articles was present in the provinces A and FB. In EF an equal amount of inflections and Standard Dutch use of articles was noticed; (b) The possessive pronouns were inflected in A, L, FB, and with the oldest young adolescents in WF. The adolescents and second age category in this last province equally inflected the possessive pronouns and used the Standard Dutch form. This was also the case for all subjects in EF; (c) The demonstrative pronouns were inflected in A and FB and with the third age category in EF. In L only the third category made the inflections and did this as much as they did not; and (d) The adjectives were inflected in FB. This also occurred in A and EF but the amount of inflections and the Standard Dutch use of the adjectives were equal. L and WF did not inflect the adjectives at all.

(4) The "redundant" *dat* (that) occurred in the provinces A and FB. In L and WF, it did not. In EF, only the adolescents made the inflection, while the young adults had an equal amount of inflections and Standard Dutch utterances. As with the other features, no significant differences occurred between the male and female participants.

## Discussion

The conclusion resulting from this research revealed that there are indeed regional variants and there is a high percentage of interlanguage, especially in A and FB, but Standard Dutch still prevails in all provinces. This supported the idea that chat language does not necessarily diminish or violate the Standard Dutch

language. Given that the interlingual elements are rather added to the generally used Standard Dutch language, the language is in fact enriched rather than impoverished by this chat language and should therefore be seen as change in progress.

### **Education**

To conclude, this research also focused on the fear of many Dutch teachers and linguistic purists who claim their pupils or even students cannot write properly anymore, because they are chatting. According to Van de Craen (2005), they talk about the degradation of our standard language and about cultural loss. Linguists, on the other hand, believe that chat language can be seen as an interesting influence on the way the Dutch standard language is evolving in both main countries where it is used (Belgium, Flanders, and the Netherlands).

The traditional written language has two constraints: It is not expressive and goes slowly. Expressivity and speed, through abbreviations, are nevertheless present in chat language. This “fast” language use certainly has an influence on Standard Dutch, but it is a slow evolution. We must not overreact, because chat language will not be the main reason for a fundamental change in our standard language. There are no unambiguous research results about the connection between chatting and writing skills. In the Netherlands, Spooren (2011) interviewed several pupils in the fifth grade about their use of several online media and made them do a writing task. He could not find any relationship between the use of these media and writing skills. Nevertheless, he added that his research was too small for big conclusions. In France, a positive link between chat-intensity and language skills was established, but this only accounted for young children of maximum 12 years old. In an English investigation of “The British Psychological Society”, it was claimed that chat and SMS (Short Message Service) language have a positive effect on children’s language development. The research stated that children who use a lot of chat language have a richer grammar and have less problems learning a language, the so-called “literacy achievement”.

Therefore, the entire Dutch language teaching system should also be taken into account. During this research, the author visited six different classes at several schools. None of them had a specific grammar or spelling program within their curriculum, which is an interesting note to the question on how children learn to write the correct standard language. The emphasis lies on reading and listening and grammar and spelling are not taught explicitly. Besides, teachers are often asked to make exercises on spelling and grammar themselves. Nevertheless, more research on this subject is needed for any conclusions to be made.

### **Conclusions**

On the basis of the above-mentioned results and research it is stated that it is indeed true that youngsters use their own version of (a) language(s) nowadays. Nevertheless, this has always been the case. Youngsters have always used another language outside the school buildings than inside the school’s language rooms. Nevertheless, these “other languages” should not be considered as a threat to, but rather an enrichment of our Dutch standard language. In the past, these youngsters could not use a computer, now they can. That is the only difference.



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# An Empirical Research on Chinese Teachers Transition to US Schools: Pedagogical Implications and Teacher Training Program<sup>\*</sup>

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With the further promotion and popularization of teaching Chinese in America, more and more Chinese teachers are needed in the US schools to teach the Chinese language. The US education system needs them to transit their traditional teaching pedagogy to adapt the new environment. In order to help Chinese teachers set up appropriate strategies in Chinese teaching in America, the author chooses 29 participants from the teacher training summer program at George Mason University and has done an empirical research. Through questionnaire, this paper analyzes the data collected from the teacher training summer program and puts forward the following strategies of the Chinese teachers' transition: the changing of teaching strategies, the quality improvement of the Chinese curriculum, and the necessity of learning culture.

*Keywords:* Chinese teaching, teaching pedagogy, teaching system, teaching curriculum

## Introduction

More and more Chinese teachers are needed in the US schools to teach the Chinese language. Most of these teachers are native speakers. They either came to the US recently or they received their high school and/or college education outside of the US. Every one of these foreign teachers is or will be facing transitioning challenges in the US school systems. Their education backgrounds are very different from the US education system. They are not adequately prepared to face the multi-cultural and social-eco issues confronting many American school teachers. There was one example of a volunteer Chinese teacher who chose to return to China after experiencing the cultural shock in a Washington DC public school. Many other Chinese teachers are trying their best to fit into the American education system and to teach Chinese the best way they can. Teacher re-certification or some focused retraining in an accredited American institution becomes a pre-requisite for these foreign teachers to smoothly transition into our public schools.

We held two teacher training summer programs at George Mason University during the past two years. More than 40 in-service and pre-service Chinese teachers participated in the training. We believe we received some quality feedback from these two summer programs which we would like to share in the hopes of stimulating

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<sup>\*</sup> This paper is the 12th Five-year Plan Subject's initial achievements for Shandong Provincial Educational Science: A Case Study of Binzhou University on Optimizing English Education Major's Practical Personnel Cultivating Pattern for Local Universities.  
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some dialogue and further research. Hopefully, any future teacher training program can be better targeted and enhanced to more efficiently train these teachers in the transitioning process.

### **Literature Review**

As the population of the US becomes more diverse (Banks, 2006; Irvine, 2003), both challenges and opportunities are created for our education systems. Education scholars have called for changes in teacher education programs to prepare for the increasingly diverse student population in America's schools (Banks, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). According to Gay and Howard (2000), regarding the situation of current education in FL (foreign language) teaching in US schools—never before have public school teachers in the US been faced with the challenge for meeting the needs of so many diverse learners. The teaching force in the US is decreasing while the student population is increasingly diverse. Therefore, it is important to help prospective teachers develop the competencies necessary to meet the needs of these learners. It is indeed a difficult and complete task for teachers and educators. In addition, we need to review the limited literature that addresses the role of teacher educators in preparing pre-service teachers to work with diverse students.

According to Milner and Smithey's (2003) theory, for pre-service teachers—those individuals who are teacher candidates in teacher education programs—often enter classrooms culturally, racially, and ethnically incompetent. In other words, these teachers have not developed the skills necessary to be sensitive to cultural differences. Moreover, many pre-service teachers have never had significant interactions with students from diverse backgrounds and, as a result, their knowledge and understanding where diversity issues are concerned are imprecise and often result in cultural and racial mismatches. In short, many pre-service teachers have never attended schools themselves with individuals from diverse backgrounds, or lived in racially diverse neighborhoods. In light of this lack of exposure to diverse populations and in the absence of intense study and reflection, pre-service teachers may rely on stereotypical conceptions of diverse students to inform their future work as teachers.

As pre-service teachers, they need to know a range of information—from how best to organize their activities when they present themselves in the classroom to how to communicate with parents. In addition, teachers need to know their subject matter, and they need to understand the contextual idiosyncrasies as they work to teach that content. How best to help teachers develop these multiple layers of knowledge has long been a struggle for teacher education programs. Perhaps the struggles that teacher education programs are facing stem from the peculiar, multifaceted nature of teaching and learning to teach. Essentially, the skill of linking theory to practice, connecting practice to theory, and the conceptual change that is necessary for teachers to move from novice to expert in an era of reform are complicated issues that require some serious rethinking and re-conceptualization. Thus, teacher education programs are working hard to meet the "knowledge and conceptual development" needs of teachers to inform their practice, as has been the case for several decades (Milner & Smithey, 2003). So, an important goal of teacher education programs should be to identify pre-service teachers who are able to acquire the knowledge, skills, and perspectives needed to become insiders within the communities in which they teach. Teacher education programs, in collaboration with school system educators, should address the career needs of teachers as they face the joys and challenges of diverse classrooms, helping teachers to understand and change their practices around diversity (Causey, Thomas, & Armento, 2000).

It is clear that the knowledge prospective teachers acquire in teacher education programs provides a framework and foundation for how these teachers teach (Easter, Shultz, Neyhart, & Reck, 1999). In the research, the researchers pay much attention to apply methods that help teachers change their beliefs and attitudes about culturally diverse students. Johnson (1996) recognized a need for language teacher education programs to be able to provide a more realistic view of classroom life so that the experience of becoming a language teacher would be “less like ‘hazing’ and more like professional development” (pp. 30-49).

Yet, teacher education programs have not had a successful history of adequately preparing beginning teachers for this transition to the real world of the school mainly because of a perception that each first year teaching experience is so unique that generalizations may be difficult to derive from these specific experiences (Northfield & Gunstone, 1997). Under such circumstance, we need to provide appropriate training to improve their teaching skills and guide them to adapt to the US environment. Biggs, Kember, and Leung (2001) suggested that there were interactions between the students’ perceptions and the contextual factors. A good learning environment is one that can help promote deep learning; and a poor learning environment, on the other hand, is conducive to the rote learning strategy. As we know, learning approaches are not innate, fixed individual traits; rather, they are profoundly affected by the learning environment such as teaching methods, workloads, classroom climate, assessment demands, and institution requirements. In other words, an individual student’s learning approach may adjust to the specific learning environments (Kember & Gow, 1994).

From the above analysis, we see that it is important for pre-service teachers and in-service teachers to take some additional training. This would be especially true for the teachers from other countries who want to teach in US schools. With different cultures, customs, and diverse students, it is a big challenge for pre-service teachers to face and have to overcome. Biggs (1996) put forward some suggestions to help teachers to organize classroom activities. He suggested that a deep learning environment usually possess the following characteristics: such as smaller class size, student-centeredness, group work, interactions, problem solving, knowledge exploration, and qualitative and classroom-based assessment methods. On the other hand, the typical surface-learning setting is featured by teacher-dominated big class, passive learning, emphasis on drills and repetition, as well as highly stressful memorization-based assessments. In addition, multicultural teacher education literature advocates that pre-service teachers engage in a process that deconstructs the hidden structures of social reproduction that occur both inside and outside of the education system (Ladson-Billings, 2000; Villegas & Lucas, 2002). More specifically, as Villegas and Lucas (2002) once mentioned that pre-service teachers should understand that social inequalities are produced and perpetuated through systematic discrimination and justified through a societal ideology of merit, social mobility, and individual responsibility.

### **Purpose of the Study**

As evidenced in the literature review, prior research sheds some light on the understanding of the strategies which Chinese teachers usually choose in their classroom. This study seeks to validate and extend how to help Chinese teachers who plan to teach Chinese in US schools to transit their teaching ideas and methodologies through actually teaching pedagogy training and teaching practice in workshop.

This investigation set out to address the following research questions: (1) What are the expectations that Chinese teachers have for their teaching and their students as they enter US school?; and (2) What are the effects

of the workshop on the teaching practices of Chinese teachers?.

## Research Methodology

### Participants

All participants in this research consist of pre-service teachers and in-service teachers (altogether there were 29 participants: 19 Chinese and 10 Arabic). For this specific research, we only use responses from the Chinese teachers. Among Chinese participants, 21% of them have received their teaching licenses in the US, and 58% of them have been employed as a language teacher. Among the pre-service teachers, all of them have finished their two-month internships in US primary and middle schools. So, they have some basic ideas of the difference between teaching in China and in the US.

### Research Process and Results

This research analysis is based on the data collected from the Star Talk 2009 Summer Institute at George Mason University. The first step of the research is pre-survey data collection, which means we have designed the questionnaire for the participants to complete according to their prior knowledge and experiences. The purpose of this part of the data collection is to analyze the teacher's roles and teaching methodologies in a Chinese classroom. All participants attended a one week workshop to learn the current teaching theories for US schools; and then they were assigned a teaching task to practice their teaching approach with some US elementary school students. After two weeks training, we carried out the post-survey data collection to analyze what the teachers should do in the US schools, their roles, and the teaching methodologies they should apply. Our research results are derived from a comparison between the two surveys. They are listed as follows (see Tables 1-7):

Table 1

*Think Back to Your Own Language Learning Experiences. What Was the Role of the Teacher?/What Expectations Did the Teachers Have for the Students?*

No.	Comments	N	(%)
1	Student-oriented teaching method	8	42
2	Traditional teacher-centered classroom	11	58

Among 19 responses, 58% of the participants have the same preconceived concept of the teacher's role as their own language teachers in China. Teacher is the center of the class and guides students to learn vocabulary and drills, especially asks them to recite and memorize the rules of grammar so as to do some grammar exercises.

Table 2

*What Are Some of the Differences Between Language Classrooms in the US and Language Classrooms in Your Own Country?*

No.	Comments	N	(%)
1	Grammar driven approach	6	33
2	Teacher-centered method	4	22
3	Culture and language proficiency	3	17
4	Teaching environment	3	17
5	Purpose of language teaching	2	11

For this question, there are altogether 18 valid responses, one participant did not answer the question. In the responses, 33.3% of participants mentioned the traditional teaching methodology used in China is grammar translation method which pays much attention to the skill of reading and writing. In China, language teachers are the center of the classroom. Language learning and teaching usually follow the drills, translation work, and rote memorization of vocabulary and phrases. The grammar driven approach to teach language is the mainstream. Language learning mainly focuses on reading and writing. In the US schools, language learning focuses on listening and speaking, students are more involved in the learning process and there are more hands-on activities. It is no surprise that 22% of the participants mentioned that teacher is the center of the class. The teacher usually controls the class according to the teaching plan. In such an environment, the purpose of teaching is to finish specific teaching task(s) based on the curriculum instead of the real needs of students.

Table 3

*What Do You Believe Are the Biggest Challenges Teaching the Students in US Schools?*

No.	Comments	N	(%)
1	Purpose of teaching language	7	37
2	Culture differences	6	31.4
3	Teaching skills	3	15.8
4	Classroom management	3	15.8

Among the 19 responses, 37% of participants indicated the purpose of teaching language is the major challenge for Chinese teachers in the US schools. Different teaching pedagogy affects the methods of classroom management. Another 31.4% of participants indicated that the biggest challenge is the cultural differences. For this group of participants, the need to adapt to the different cultural backgrounds of their students is greatest. How to cope with the different learning levels of the students within the classroom. These teachers need to be more aware and learn to use appropriate language and signals in order to avoid misinterpretation. The discussions during the training also provided us with some useful information related to this question. The purpose of teaching language in the US schools is to allow students to use the language to communicate. On the other hand, in China, language learning is naturally passive, and the purpose of learning is to gain knowledge for the exams they need to pass. Different purposes will definitely require different teaching approaches.

The culture differences also affect the classroom teaching approaches. It is very normal that teachers should be the center of the classroom teaching in China. Students usually listen to the teacher and do what teachers asked them to do. Everything that students need to know should be taught in the class. In China, for thousands of years the teacher has been held in high esteem. However, students in the US are not like that. They are more active in the class and would like to learn from different activities and have fun during their learning process. This is also a key issue in classroom management. Generally speaking, teachers were not challenged that much with classroom management issues in China. Students understand that they need to obey what the teacher asked them to do. The first thing a Chinese teacher in a US classroom will face is the classroom management issue, even though the number of the students in one class is less than what they have in a typical classroom in China. Efficient classroom rules, a student-centered teaching approach, and more meaningful classroom learning activities will motivate students to learn and will help with the classroom management.

Table 4

*What Concerns Do You Have Regarding Your Responsibilities as a Language Teacher in US School?*

No.	Comments	N	(%)
1	How to use language to communicate in real life	6	33.3
2	Students' needs	4	22.2
3	Culture differences	3	16.7
4	Classroom management	3	16.7
5	Modern technology	2	11.1

Among the 18 responses, one participant did not answer this question. Among participants, 33% were concerned about how to use language to communicate in real life. The purpose of learning a FL is to communicate and obtain new information from others. As language teachers, we should know the importance of arousing students' interests in learning a FL and know how to integrate real life needs into the classroom environment. Another 22.2% of participants expressed the importance of a teacher's ability to assess the real needs of each student in the class. In addition, 11.1% participants mentioned that it was necessary for teachers to use modern technology in the classroom which could help them to design their teaching plan and create realistic exercises for students to practice.

Table 5

*What Challenges Have You Faced in Implementing Collaborative, Learner-Centered Instruction and/or Assessment?*

No.	Comments	N	(%)
1	Classroom management	9	47.3
2	Different levels of students	3	15.8
3	Use target language to instruct	3	15.8
4	Time management	2	10.5
5	The real environment to implement	1	5.3
6	Technology	1	5.3

To this question, 47.3% participants indicated that the biggest challenge they have faced is the classroom management. The teacher should adopt appropriate strategies to manage the classroom according to students' different levels, such as using technology to arouse students' interesting, design different levels' of assessment based on differentiate needs. Another 15.8% of participants mentioned that it is hard for a teacher to use target language to guide students to carry on their assignment and activities. In addition, 10.5% participants mentioned that it is difficult for new teachers to manage the teaching time appropriately.

Table 6

*Were You Able to Overcome These Challenges, If So How?*

No.	Comments	N	(%)
1	Yes (Different teaching strategies)	12	63.2
	Clear instructions	4	21.2
	On-going assessment	3	15.8
	Authentic materials	3	15.8
	Student center activities	1	5.2
	With the classroom teacher's help	1	5.2
2	Not yet	7	36.8

About 63.2% participants indicated that they can use different teaching strategies to overcome those challenges, such as giving clear instructions (21.2%), having on-going assessments (15.8%), using authentic materials (15.8%), having more student-centered activities (5.2%), and getting help from the classroom teachers (5.2%). However, there are about 36.8% who mentioned that they need help to overcome the challenges they face.

Table 7

*What Other Kinds of Professional Development Do You Feel You Need to Transition to Us Teaching?*

No.	Comments	N	(%)
1	Learn more US culture	5	26.3
2	Classroom management	3	15.8
3	Differentiated instruction	3	15.8
4	Training on technology	3	15.8
5	US school system	2	10.5
6	Child development	2	10.5
7	More workshops	1	5.3

For this question, all participants expressed their needs in terms of future professional development. They would like to learn more about American culture (26.3%), classroom management (15.8%), differentiated instructions (15.8%), modern technology (15.8%), US school systems (10.5%), child development (10.5%), and workshops/training program (5.3%).

## Analysis and Suggestions

### The Changing Teaching Strategy

From the above survey, we know that traditionally, about 58% FL teachers used a grammar-based approach as the teaching method. However, in today's global and changing world, the traditional Chinese way of teaching second language or FL is no longer sufficient and appropriate. During the past two decades, the trend of teaching is shifting to more communicative and interactive approaches (Lee & Vanpatten, 2003). According to Widdowson (1998), language instruction for communicative approaches must "come to terms with the learner's reality and somehow create contextual conditions that are appropriate to them and that will enable them to authenticate it as discourse on their own terms" (p. 712). Thus, it becomes a big challenge for second language teachers today to develop a wider array of competences (Velez-Rendon, 2002). Before making decisions regarding teaching methodology, teachers or school administrators have to ascertain their goals and the age of students. If the goal of teaching FL is proficiency, full-immersion education taught by teachers who are experts in the language is a strong method (Genesee, 1994). In addition, other effective ways for teaching a FL for older students include direct teaching, systematic practice, and ample chances for conversation (Resnick, 2006). No matter what kind of teaching method those teachers use, they have to find a balance between structure (e.g., knowledge of grammar and language structure) and meaning (e.g., student's motivation). A student's FL learning outcome is affected by age and type of exposure to the language. FL learning is not something that takes place immediately. It takes time and money as well as requires deliberate planning by the school administrator or policy maker.



**Enhance the Quality of the Chinese Curriculum**

Usually, Chinese teachers have to teach different grades at one school. They design the curriculum and teaching materials for different student age groups. How to design curricula that are useful and interesting is very critical. A well designed curriculum arouses students' learning motivation and increases studying efficiency. Whether the curriculum fits in with the cognitive developmental state of a child's age is another significant concern. The early stages of establishing a Chinese Language Program afford American educators or policy makers the chance to control the quality of Chinese teachers and the curriculum.

In recent years, the federal government has come to understand many of the problems with teacher preparation programs and has repeatedly called for curriculum reform, innovation in program design, and greater emphasis on the practical component of pre-service education (Ministry of Education, 1999, 2001; State Council, 2001). Many teacher educators are also critically reviewing the existing programs, introducing international developments in teacher education, and suggesting directions in which the current curriculum can be reformed (K. K. HE, 2002; HUANG, 2002; LIU, 2002; L. SHI, 2002; Q. H. SHI, 2002). However, curricular reform is still at the stage of conceptual deliberation, and curriculums and programs that embody new ideas about initial teacher education have yet to appear. Furthermore, even if such curriculums and programs can be expected in the near future, it is still too early to predict significant improvements in the quality of teacher preparation, because many of the instructional practices common to teacher education programs also need to be critically examined and changed.

**The Necessity to Learn the Culture**

A typical assumption in second language education is to add on a cultural component to the basic four skills like icing on a cake. In contrast, Kramsch (1994) argued that cultural context should be the core of a second language curriculum. By this she meant that the cultural context of language ought to be made explicit through social interaction in the classroom, the use of stories, discourses, literary texts, and authentic texts. Without such a change in thinking, misunderstandings can easily arise because learners may acquire particular language forms without realizing their cultural significance. Vocabulary, for instance, may aid learners in understanding what is important to a culture, how native speakers classify experience, provide a record of cultural borrowings, and reveal attitudes to foreign words and ideas (Saville-Troike, 1996; Lakoff, 1987; Myers, 1997). Compound words, for example, may be a source for understanding Chinese beliefs and values. Teachers could organize these into meaningful groups in order to make different Chinese ways of thinking explicit. FL teachers with knowledge of their students' mother tongues could also use vocabulary as a means to compare and contrast cultural values.

Another area for language educators and researchers to explore in relation to culture and language is the discourse level. A recent study of Chinese American children in a Chinese heritage school in the US (A. HE, 1999) examined some ways that Chinese cultural values are revealed through the interactional and grammatical organization of teachers' directives. A. HE (1999, p. 16) claimed that the teacher draws upon the notion of filial gratitude to impress on students the importance of fulfilling parental expectations. This strategy is employed as a way to get inattentive students to pay attention. While A. HE's interpretation is open to debate, it remains true that Chinese cultural values can be evident at a discourse level. One specific technique to make this explicit for adult CFL (Chinese Foreign Language) learners, for example, would be to identify cross-cultural

misunderstandings (LIAO, 1997) that arise in CFL classrooms, Chinese literature or Chinese movies. As teachers notice cross-cultural issues more frequently, they might be able to diagnose and predict areas of cultural conflict.

As we discussed before, the classroom management is one of the big challenges for most Chinese teachers. From our own teaching experiences we realize that having students involved in the teaching process would be a great way to get students motivated to learn, and it helps a lot with the classroom management. For example, asking Chinese level 3 students to lead the class for the vocabulary review. Each student was assigned one lesson. During class, two level 3 students will conduct the teaching of vocabulary, and during the next class period conduct the assessment for each of their lessons. What surprised us was that all level 3 students were very well prepared to teach their lessons and had different activities to help their teaching. Each student was looking forward to some teaching time and the whole class was very active and students enjoyed their learning by experiencing different teaching styles and practice activities. The assessment results also showed the progress that students made since they all had an opportunity to teach. Each student was very interested in the progress the class made during their individual teaching lesson. This is one example of the student-centered teaching process. What we have learned from this specific exercise is that first, we need to understand the students' learning styles. Secondly, we need to integrate classroom management with our teaching approaches. If more students can be actively involved in the teaching and learning process, we may have less classroom discipline problems. However, classroom management is always a challenge for teachers and we have a lot to learn about it. Our next teacher training program will provide more guidance on classroom management.

### Conclusions

To serve the needs of our diverse student populations and families, we need to train our teachers in the following areas:

To first understand ourselves. From where we come from to what we have been through in our adolescent years—our multicultural development have affected us and influenced our perspective on life. Our personal knowledge and experiences can enhance our own learning experiences and teaching methods in the classroom.

Second, we need to preserve the connections students have with their families and cultural backgrounds. It is not for us to judge our students and their family backgrounds, but to understand and learn to better integrate and accommodate those differences in our classroom instruction. We should realize that diversity is a very rich resource for the class, for our schools and for our society.

Third, we need to learn how to teach for social equality. As teachers, we need to combine the knowledge that students need to learn and the real life experiences they have. All of these social equality concepts can be displayed in your classroom environment setting, in the selection of your text book and teaching materials, and in your daily classroom activities and discussions. We need to work hard to provide all students with successful learning experiences in their lives.

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**Appendix: Questionnaire in Star Talk 2009 Summer Institute****Pre-survey: Star Talk 2009 Summer Institute**

1. Do you currently hold a teaching license?
2. Are you currently working on your teaching license requirements?
3. Are you employed as a language teacher?
4. What language(s) do you teach or will you teach?
5. What is your gender?
6. What do you hope to learn/gain from this Star Talk workshop?
7. Think back to your own language learning experiences. What was the role of the teacher? What expectations did the teachers have for the students?
8. What are some of the differences between language classrooms in the U.S. and language classrooms in your home country?
9. What do you believe (or will be) the biggest challenges for teaching the students in U.S. schools?
10. What concerns do you have regarding your responsibilities as a language teacher in the U.S. schools?

**Post-survey: Star Talk 2009 Summer Institute**

1. Do you currently hold a teaching license?
2. Are you currently working on your teaching license requirements?
3. Are you employed as a language teacher?
4. What language(s) do you teach or will you teach?
5. What is your gender?
6. What have you been able to use from information learned in the summer institute?
7. What challenges have you faced in implementing collaborative, learner-centered instruction and/or assessment?
8. Were you able to overcome these challenges, if so how?
9. What are your perceptions now about your role as an Arabic/Chinese teacher? In what ways have your ideas/perceptions changed?
10. What other kinds of professional development do you feel you need to transition to US teaching?

# On Metadiscoursal Features of Chinese University Students' Oral English: A Perspective From Chunks\*

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This paper explores metadiscoursal features of Chinese university students' oral English based on their chunks in the hope of providing implications for oral English teaching in Chinese universities. Data consisted of oral English produced by university students from China and Britain. Form, meaning, and functional features of high frequency four-word OCs (oral chunks) with metadiscoursal features (i.e., metadiscoursal oral chunks, or MOCs) used by university students from the two countries were compared. It is found that similar to British university students' MOCs, Chinese university students' MOCs share salient lexical-grammatical patterns and signal interpersonal, textual and mixed functions which are highly related to their patterns. However, Chinese university students' MOCs are significantly underused in both types and tokens, formally less diversified and more dysfluent, and functionally more assertive, suggesting the students' poorer metadiscoursal performance. The results imply that OCs can be utilized to evaluate EFL (English as a foreign language) learners' metadiscoursal performance.

*Keywords:* metadiscourse, chunk, corpus, EFL learner

## Introduction

As stated by Sinclair and Renouf (1988, p. 156), language text is simultaneously organized on at least two different dimensions, or "planes". The first plane is used for constructing and elaborating messages (propositional meanings), and the second is concerned with commenting on, labeling, evaluating, and generally negotiating the messages interpersonally. However, the importance of purposes, intentions, and objectives of language users has not, until recently, been recognized and the second of these planes has been largely neglected. The second plane of language consists of the topic of this paper—metadiscourse. This paper aims to investigate metadiscoursal features of Chinese university students' oral English from the perspective of chunks.

As a "central pragmatic construct" (Hyland, 1998, p. 437), metadiscourse can be understood as "self-reflective linguistic material referring to the evolving text and to the writer and imagined reader of that text" (Hyland & Tse, 2004, p. 156). This paper focuses on metadiscourse in interactional oral English; thus, by making reference mainly to William (1981, pp. 211-212) and Hyland (1998), metadiscourse is defined as the linguistic material in discourse that does not add anything to the propositional content but that signals discourse

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\* This paper is a partial result of "Metadiscoursal Features of High Frequency Oral English Chunks and Their Pedagogical Processing" (13YJC740052), a project funded by the Ministry of Education of China for the Development of Liberal Arts and Social Sciences.

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organization, interaction with listener or speaker stance towards either its content or the listener. Existing research has tended to focus on written metadiscourse, centering upon its influence on comprehension (Crismore, 1989; Crismore & Vande Kopple, 1997), its cross-cultural differences (Crismore, et al., 1993; Dahl, 2004), effects of its explicit teaching in writing (CHENG & Steffensen, 1997; Shaw & LIU, 1998), patterned developmental changes EFL (English as a foreign language) student writers experience across four years (H. M. XU, 2001), etc.. However, the association between the use of metadiscourse and EFL learners' pragmatic performance still remains under-researched. Since metadiscourse belongs to the ubiquitous and yet neglected second plane of language, this study on EFL learners' metadiscoursal performance may provide implications for EFL teaching.

Metadiscourse can be in the forms of single words (*but, yeah*), phrases (*by the way, on the other hand*), or clauses (*I think, as I said*). This paper regards OCs (oral chunks) as the analytical units in light of the "phraseological tendency" of language, "where words tend to go together and make meanings by their combinations" (Sinclair, 2004, p. 29). OCs are defined here as continuous recurrent sequences of at least two words automatically retrieved from an oral corpus. Simply put, automatic retrieval of OCs is to run certain software tool to split and retrieve continuous four-word sequences at a certain frequency cut-off. Let us suppose that an oral text begins like this: "Once upon a time there was a beautiful princess". If we run WordSmith 5.0 (Scott, 2008) and choose clusters with the length of four words at a frequency cut-off of one (i.e., each cluster appears at least once in the corpus), the following six OCs will be retrieved: *once upon a time, upon a time there, a time there was, time there was a, there was a beautiful, and was a beautiful princess*. Automatic retrieval necessarily means that the software tool retrieves OCs which in most cases lack any syntactic or semantic integrity, as well as strings that display integrity of one or both kinds (McCarthy & Carter, 2002). Actually, a majority of the OCs are syntactic fragments, not constituting complete syntactic elements at phrasal or clausal levels and are thus not recognized as fixed expressions by native speakers (see Altenberg, 1998; Biber, Johansson, Leech, & Finegan, 1999; McCarthy & Carter, 2002; WEI, 2007). Consequently, "[c]onventional grammars would certainly dismiss these as incomplete structures" (O'Keeffe, McCarthy, & Carter, 2007, p. 70). Nevertheless, results of previous studies have shown that high frequency OCs "turn out to be readily interpretable in both structural and functional terms" and thus "should be regarded as a basic linguistic construct with important functions for the construction of discourse" (Biber, Conrad, & Cortes, 2004, p. 398-399). Besides, high frequency OCs tend to have metadiscoursal, pragmatic functions (Altenberg, 1998; Biber et al., 2004; O'Keeffe et al., 2007). However, existing research on EFL learners' OCs has hardly focused on their metadiscoursal features. Therefore, this study attempts to interpret Chinese university students' English metadiscoursal performance, especially in the aspect of utterance initiation, through an analysis of their MOCs (metadiscoursal oral chunks) in the hope of providing implications for oral English teaching in Chinese universities.

### Research Design

The main research question is: What are the features of MOCs used by Chinese university students in comparison with those by British university students in terms of general frequencies, linguistic patterns, and functions?

Research data consisted of two corpora, as displayed in Table 1.

Table 1

*Research Data*

	Corpora	Subjects	Size (tokens)
Target	LINDSEI-CH (B turns) <sup>①</sup>	53 Chinese university students	63,463
Reference	LOCNEC (B turns)	50 native British university students	117,703

*Note.*<sup>①</sup> In the corpora, B turns consist of the subjects' (i.e., interviewees') speeches, while A turns consist of those of the teachers (i.e., interviewers).

LINDSEI-CH is a sub-corpus of LINDSEI (Louvain International Database of Spoken English Interlanguage), which is made up of informal interviews divided into three parts: set-topic talk, free discussion, and picture description between university undergraduates in English (usually in their third or fourth year) in their twenties and teachers (Gilquin, De Cock, & Granger, 2010a). LOCNEC (Louvain Corpus of Native English Conversation) was compiled as a reference corpus of native British university students, built according to the same principles as LINDSEI (Gilquin, De Cock & Granger, 2010b, p. 65). Thus, the two sets of data are highly homogeneous in terms of tasks, context, and interview durations.

For the retrieval of OCs, this research employed WordSmith's (Scott, 2008) function WordList cluster.

In light of Hyland's (1998) definition of metadiscourse, MOCs are defined as OCs of four contiguous words that can be used to initiate utterances and consist of non-propositional elements. Accordingly, MOCs should meet three requirements: utterance-initiating signals, non-propositional elements, and four contiguous words (LIN & HE, 2012).

In terms of research methodology and procedure, typical linguistic patterns of British university students' MOCs (NS MOCs) were first constructed from nearly one thousand four-word OCs by implementing the working procedure of constructing meaningful units proposed by Lexical Grammar (Sinclair, 2004) in corpus linguistics. They then served as reference to reveal features of Chinese university students' MOCs (CH MOCs) in terms of general frequencies, linguistic patterns, and functions. Functions and sub-functions of MOCs were analyzed mainly within their four-word context. This functional taxonomy was mainly based on Hyland's (2005, pp. 48-54) classification of written metadiscourse in English, which was complemented by Erman and Warren's (2000, pp. 43-45) classification of prefabs (i.e., prefabricated chunks) in spoken English. Three broad functional categories of MOCs were finally distinguished: textual, interpersonal, and mixed-functional. Textual MOCs signal organization of a discourse (*that's to say I, in the first place*). Interpersonal MOCs signal interaction with the listener or speaker stance towards the listener or discourse content (*you know it was, I couldn't believe it*). Mixed-functional MOCs signal both discourse organization and listener interaction/speaker stance; that is, they have both textual and interpersonal functions (*but I don't know, and it was sort of*). Sub-functions of each broad category were also identified.

## Results

### Shared Features of Chinese and British University Students' MOCs

First, in terms of forms and meanings, they share two typical patterns: (1) "*and/ERM/YEAH/but/so* + pronoun-type subject" (*erm I don't know, but it was a*); and (2) "*I/it/that/you* + stance-type words"<sup>1</sup> (*I think it*

<sup>1</sup> In the patterns, slashes (/) mean "or" and capitalized words in italics include their different spellings in oral English. For example, *ERM* consists of *erm*, *er*, *eh*, and *mm*.

was, *it was sort of*). Pattern (1) is a formal pattern consisting of OC-initial words and their following grammatical elements. It is similar to colligation in Lexical Grammar (Sinclair, 2004, p. 164) in that it displays a grammatical choice (i.e., pronoun-type subject) colligating OC-initial words (i.e., conjunctions *and/so/but* or particles *ERM/YEAH*). Pattern (2) is a form-meaning pattern consisting of OC-initial words and their following words with certain semantic meaning, or stance. It is similar to semantic preference in Lexical Grammar in that it displays high frequency OC-initial words (i.e., pronouns *I/it/that/you*) co-selected with stance-type words (e.g., *think, mean, know, and sure*).

Second, in terms of functions, MOCs in both CH and NS signal interpersonal, textual, and mixed functions, with interpersonal MOCs taking up the highest proportions (see Table 2). A more detailed analysis has revealed that hedges are of the biggest percentage of all interpersonal MOCs in both CH and NS.

Table 2

*General Functions of MOCs in CH and NS (Tokens)*

Functions	CH		NS	
	R. Freq. <sup>①</sup>	N. Freq. <sup>②</sup>	R. Freq.	N. Freq.
Interpersonal	568 (49.1%)	895	1,797 (55.9%)	1,527
Mixed-functional	386 (33.4%)	608	761 (23.7%)	647
Textual	203 (17.5%)	320	654 (20.4%)	556
Total	1,157 (100%)	1,823	3,212 (100%)	2,729

Notes. <sup>①</sup> R. Freq. = Raw frequency; <sup>②</sup> N. Freq. = Normalized frequency (per 10,000 words).

Third, a strong relationship between MOC patterns and functions is found in both CH and NS, as displayed in Figure 1.

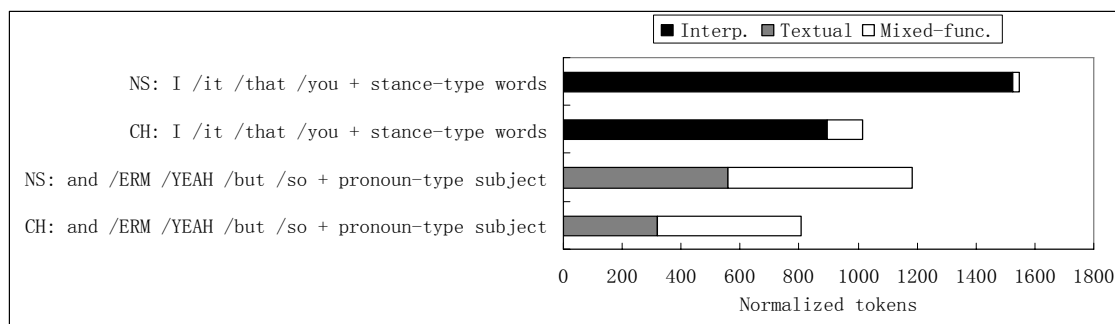


Figure 1. Relationship between linguistic patterns and functions of MOCs in CH and NS.

### Distinct Features of Chinese University Students' MOCs

**Underuse in frequency.** MOCs are significantly underused in CH in both types and tokens, as displayed in Table 3.

This suggests that CH OCs have a weaker metadiscoursal tendency. This finding corresponds to what was found in previous studies on pragmatic features of Chinese EFL learners' OCs. For example, HE and M. F. XU (2003) found that EFL learners of four different L1 backgrounds (Chinese, Japanese, French, and Italian) used fewer two-word English "small words" (i.e., discourse markers that are highly frequent in speech, such as *well* and *sort of*) than English native speakers. DENG (2007) found that Chinese EFL learners significantly underused interactional formulaic sequences (*that's a really good point, but I think, yeah definitely*). Finally, WEI (2007)



found that Chinese EFL learners underused English OCs which basically perform pragmatic functions, such as epistemic tags (*I don't know*) and vagueness expressions (*sort of*).

Table 3

*Frequencies of MOCs in CH and NS*

	Types					Tokens				
	CH		NS		$\chi^2$	CH		NS		$\chi^2$
	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	R. Freq.	N. Freq.		R. Freq.	N. Freq.	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	
OC	2,047	3,226	3,642	3,094	+2.29 <sup>①</sup>	5,346	8,424	9,570	8,130	+4.65
MOC	415	654	1,118	950	-42.68*** <sup>②</sup>	1,157	1,823	3,212	2,729	143.36***
MOC %	20.3		30.7			21.6		33.6		

Notes. <sup>①</sup> “+” indicates overuse in CH; <sup>②</sup> “-” indicates underuse in CH; \*\*\* indicates significant difference at 0.001 level.

The weaker metadiscoursal tendency of CH OCs is best evidenced by the small percentage of their MOCs among the top 15 OCs in comparison with those in NS, as listed in Table 4.

Table 4

*Top 15 OCs in CH and NS*

Order	CH		NS	
	OCs	N. Freq.	OCs	N. Freq.
1	*to draw a picture <sup>①</sup>	41	it was it was	37
2	to be a teacher	32	<b>I don't know I</b>	32
3	*look at the picture	30	<u>and things like that</u> <sup>③</sup>	28
4	*draw a picture for	28	<b>erm I don't know</b>	20
5	like to talk about	28	at the end of	20
6	<b>I would like to</b> <sup>②</sup>	27	the end of the	20
7	I want to be	25	<b>I think it was</b>	16
8	*a picture for her	25	<b>I'd like to go</b>	16
9	at that time I	24	<u>a bit of a</u>	16
10	*draw a picture of	22	<b>it was really good</b>	14
11	*in the picture is	22	<u>and stuff like that</u>	14
12	in the in the	20	<u>or something like that</u>	14
13	*woman in the picture	20	<b>I don't know if</b>	13
14	*a picture of her	19	<b>I think I think</b>	13
15	how to say that	19	a lot of people	12

Notes. <sup>①</sup> OCs preceded by \* in CH are propositional OCs induced by task; <sup>②</sup> OCs in bold in both CH and NS are MOCs; <sup>③</sup> OCs underlined in NS are other OCs with specialized metadiscoursal functions.

As displayed in Table 4, in CH, only one OC is identified as MOC; in NS, however, seven OCs are MOCs. In addition, apart from the seven MOCs in NS, four others signal specialized metadiscoursal functions (e.g., hedging) although they do not signal utterance initiation (which is one requirement of MOCs). The two groups of OCs take up 73.3% of all 15 OCs, making salient the non-propositional tendency of high frequency NS OCs. In contrast, CH OCs mainly indicate propositional meanings. As displayed in Table 4, eight CH OCs consist of *picture* and/or *woman*, which were induced by the content of the interview task during which the students were presented pictures showing an artist drawing pictures for a woman. Students in both CH and NS needed to finish the same task, and yet the proportions of their MOCs are so different.

**Lower diversity and unusual dysfluency in form.** The top 15 MOCs are much less diversified in CH than in NS, as listed in Table 5.

Table 5

*Top 15 MOCs in CH and NS*

CH		NS	
MOCs	N. Freq.	MOCs	N. Freq.
I would like to	27	I don't know I	32
*I think I will <sup>①</sup>	17	erm I don't know	20
*I think er the	16	I'd like to go	16
I'd like to talk	16	*I think it was	16
and <u>I want to</u> <sup>②</sup>	14	it was really good	14
er I mean the	14	I don't know if	13
er <u>I want to</u>	14	*I think I think	13
so <u>I want to</u>	14	and it was really	11
I don't know how	14	I thought it was	11
*I I think I	14	you know what I	10
*I think it is	13	and it was like	10
*so I I think	11	and it was just	9
<u>I just want to</u>	11	it was a bit	9
I will go to	11	it was just like	9
*er I I think	9	I was going to	9

Notes. <sup>①</sup> MOCs preceded by \* consist of *I think*; <sup>②</sup> MOCs underlined consist of *I want to*.

In CH, six MOCs consist of *I think* (as preceded by \*) and whereas in NS, only two consist of that expression. This finding is consistent with what was found in HE and M. F. XU (2003), i.e., *I think* was significantly overused by Chinese advanced EFL students and it was actually more frequent than 18 other common “small words” (discourse markers such as *ah, just, like, a bit, all right*). Similarly, J. J. XU and Z. R. XU (2007) found that Chinese university students overused *I think*. Besides, four CH MOCs consist of *I \* want to* (as underlined) and yet none consist of that expression in NS. Analysis of the immediate right collocates of *I \* want to* in the CH corpus at a frequency cut-off of five searched by WordSmith's (Scott, 2008) function Concord has revealed that *I \* want to* tend to be followed by *BE* (18)<sup>2</sup>, *GO* (15), *ERM* (6), and *TALK* (6). Among them, *TALK* was induced by one task of the interview during which the students were asked to choose one of the three topics to talk about. The three topics were: an experience you have had which has taught you an important lesson, a country you have visited which has impressed you, and a film/play you have seen which you thought was particularly good/bad (Gilquin et al., 2010b, p. 8). Induced by this task, CH students' topic choosing signals are highly stereotypical. Specifically, among the 53 CH students, 19 use *I... talk (about)...* (see Example (1)) and another 19 use *I... choose...*

## Example (1)

okay em. I'll talk about one of the films that I think is a good one

em I'm going to talk about my trip to shao guan

eh I would like to talk about the first topic about the experience

<sup>2</sup> In this study, capitalized verbs are lemmas and the following figures in parentheses are their tokens in the corpus under research. For example, “*BE* (18)” indicates that all the various forms of *BE* (*am, are, is, was*) have a total token of 18.

*eh I'd like to talk about a film I saw two weeks ago*  
*em I like to talk erm topic the the second topic*  
*em I would like to talk about a film I just seen. several days ago*  
*er I'd like to talk my visit. to Beijing.*  
*I'd like to talk about the place er one place*  
*I'd like to talk about the topic three*  
*mm okay I'd like to talk about an experience*  
*ok. mm I'd like to talk about a film*  
*okay I would like to talk about a place er im im impressed me very much*  
*okay I'd like to talk about the most impressive film I've ever seen*  
*okay okay er I would like to talk about er the film I like most*  
*okay I try to talk about my experience*  
*actually I just want to talked about erm*  
*er I want to talk the place which give me. some very good impression*  
*okay I want to talk about some. mm the life in the. when I came.*

In comparison to Example (1), the topic choosing signals by NS students are much more diversified. Among the 50 students, 21 simply utter topic numbers (*er topic two*), 11 say out specific topics (*the country I visited*), and others either specify exact content of the topics chosen (*mhm okay well this summer I went over to America on holiday*), begin with *I... talk (about)* (*erm I'd like to talk about well a film and a play*), or start with *I... choose...* (*I think I'll choose the first topic I think*).

The unusual dysfluency of CH MOCs is evidenced by the significant overuse of their MOCs initiated by *ERM*. Table 6 compares sub-categories of “*and/ERM/YEAH/but/so + pronoun-type subject*” MOCs:

Table 6

*Sub-categories of “and/ERM/YEAH/but/so + pronoun-type subject” MOCs in CH and NS*

Sub-categories	CH		NS		$\chi^2$
	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	
<i>ERM + pronoun-type subject MOCs</i>	213 (41.5%)	336	228 (16.4%)	194	+33.62*** <sup>①</sup>
<i>and + pronoun-type subject MOCs</i>	134 (26.1%)	211	566 (40.7%)	481	-77.24*** <sup>②</sup>
<i>so + pronoun-type subject MOCs</i>	92 (17.9%)	145	186 (13.4%)	158	-0.38
<i>but + pronoun-type subject MOCs</i>	41 (8.0%)	65	201 (14.5%)	171	-34.04***
<i>YEAH + pronoun-type subject MOCs</i>	33 (6.4%)	52	210 (15.1%)	178	-48.25***
Total	513 (100%)	808	1,391 (100%)	1,182	-54.94***

Notes. <sup>①</sup>“+” indicates overuse in CH, \*\*\* indicates significant difference at 0.001 level; <sup>②</sup>“-” indicates underuse in CH.

As can be seen in Table 6, CH MOCs initiated with verbal fillers (*ERM*) form the highest proportion (41.5%); in contrast, such MOCs form a much smaller part in NS (16.4%). Actually, *ERM*-initiated MOCs are overused in CH while all other sub-categories are underused. Since verbal fillers are generally used for pauses when speakers are faced with production difficulty, their unusually high proportion in CH suggests that they may be regarded as unusual dysfluency. This result suggests that even at advanced level of English learning, Chinese university students' oral English is not fluent enough, and this rate of dysfluency may influence their discourse management and stance expression.

**A more assertive tone in function.** The assertive tone is evidenced by their significant underuse of hedges (i.e., a sub-category of interpersonal MOCs) in CH (see Table 7). Too assertive a tone may affect the

appropriateness of their oral English.

Table 7

*Hedging MOCs in CH and NS*

CH		NS		$\chi^2$
R. Freq.	N. Freq.	R. Freq.	N. Freq.	
297	468	997	847	-83.01*** <sup>①</sup>

Note. <sup>①</sup> “-” indicates underuse in CH, \*\*\* indicates significant difference at 0.001 level.

## Conclusions and Implication

Through an investigation of the metadiscourse features of Chinese university students’ oral English, this paper has found that CH MOCs are underused in both types and tokens, less diversified and more dysfluent in form, and more assertive in function. This result may suggest the neglect of non-propositional discourse in English teaching in China.

As an implication, OCs can be utilized to evaluate EFL learners’ metadiscourse performance. OCs are short, and yet they reflect certain features of EFL learners’ oral English, such as lower diversity, unusual dysfluency, and high assertiveness. Those features may be found through other methods, but this method of analyzing OCs automatically retrieved from a corpus may be more objective and faster. It is objective since it can produce high frequency OCs that are “not available through intuition” (Read & Nation, 2004, pp. 30-31), and it is fast in that EFL learners’ metadiscourse performance can be quickly evaluated merely based on a small part of their oral English (i.e., high frequency OCs). Nevertheless, some issues remain to be discussed in the actual operation, including the setting of evaluation standards and complementary evaluation methods.

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# An Appreciation of James Joyce's Writing Methods in "Eveline"\*

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James Joyce (1882-1941) is an Irish novelist, a major figure of modern world literature. He revolted against the traditional techniques in novel writing and experimented extensively in language and style to create a new kind of novel. His name is associated with the stream-of-consciousness technique, and his influence is still profoundly felt today. His first important work, *Dubliners* (1999), is regarded as one of his best short stories, with a collection of 15 short stories in it, and "Eveline" is one of the 15 stories. It tells a story of a 19-year-old girl, Eveline, who suffers the inner struggle to escape the dull and hard life in Dublin with her boyfriend, but it is doomed to end in failure. Short as it is, it is really worth careful analysis and appreciation. This paper, first of all, gives a brief introduction of the story. Then it mainly explores James Joyce's writing methods used in the story in three brief aspects: his method in the flow of experience, his method of "epiphanies", and his symbolic method, and all of them have laid a solid foundation for the method of "stream of consciousness" in his later works.

**Keywords:** "Eveline", "the flow of experience", "epiphanies", symbolic method

## Introduction

James Joyce (1882-1941) is one of the most original novelists of the 20th century, and considered to be one of the most influential writers in the modernist avant-garde of the early 20th century, whose work shows a unique synthesis of realism, the "stream of consciousness" and symbolism. Some critics say that he is second only to Shakespeare in his command of English (ZHANG, 1994, p. 202). His first important work, *Dubliners* (1999), is regarded as one of the best short stories written in English (LI, 1999, p. 18). It is a collection of 15 short stories, all realistic and impressionistic studies of the life, thoughts, dreams, aspirations, and frustrations of diverse inhabitants in the Irish capital (LIU, 2001, p. 492). He chose Dublin for the scene, because that city seemed to him the center of paralysis, which is the moral hemiplegia or spiritual poverty. In this paralysed city, everything stands under the sway of priests. The young may dream of escaping away from the narrow confines, but since even their dreams of getting away are shaped in the existing surroundings, their efforts often end in bitter resignation of fruitless discontent. *Dubliners* consists of four parts: Part I: Childhood, Part II: Adolescence, Part III: Adult, and Part IV: Social Life. "Eveline" is the first story in Part II, and it is also the most important story in the novel, because some of the later stories are created on the base of "Eveline", or to

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\* This paper is a part of the results of the research programs the author has participated, *The Cognitive Orientation Study of Foreign Language Teaching in China From the Global Perspective* No. B 137, 2013.

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be exact, the later stories are the expansion of "Eveline" (ZHANG, 1988, p. 22). In this story, a 19-year-old-Dublin-girl Eveline, weary of her tedious life, has the chance to escape to Buenos Ayres with a sailor who wants to marry her. But this signifies a break with all her past life, which is full of bitterness and also some happy memories. She suffers a lot in weighing each side of the question. In pursuing a better life, she follows her boyfriend to the station. But at the last moment, she clings to the iron railing at the docks, incapable of following her suitor.

Short and simple as the story is, the writing methods of James Joyce are worth our appreciation.

### **Joyce's Method in the Flow of Experience**

James Joyce is known as one of the pioneers of "stream of consciousness", however, when he was composing *Dubliners*, he did not actually use the technique of "stream of consciousness", not even the following "epiphanies", but the simple flow of experience, which describes the character's mental flow of recalling, feeling, and memorizing of something (LI, 1996, p. 48).

The story started with Eveline's inner flow of experience. Sitting at the window, she was watching the evening invade in the avenue, and in great dilemma: to leave or to stay! In her home, she had shelter and food; she had those whom she had known all her life, though she has to work very hard. And furthermore, she had promised her mother to keep the house together and take care of her family. But in a distant unknown country and new home, what would happen? Watching a man going back home to his house, she saw the red house. Looking at a red house, she remembered that one time there used to be a field, "The children of the avenue used to play together... Still they seemed to have been rather happy then. Her father was not so bad then; and besides, her mother was alive" (ZHANG, 1987, p. 22). Her childhood memory came back to her mind—her sisters, brothers, and little friends used to play there, but now they have grown up and some of them have gone to other places. Thinking her home and reviewing all its familiar objects, she thought of her father who was violent to her most of the time, but now when she wanted to escape the danger of her father, she found that her father sometimes could be nice and even read her out a ghost story. Hearing the melancholy air of organ-player, she thought of her pity mother, whose life closed in final craziness. She also recalled how she met her boyfriend, and she was wondering what would the future life be.

In the flow of experience, Joyce also added internal monologue to describe Eveline's dilemma. "Was it wise? She tried to weigh each side of the question" (ZHANG, 1987, p. 23). She was asking herself whether she should leave her home. The internal monologue seemed that two persons were in her mind, quarreling. One says you should leave so that you will not work hard to support your family and escape the violence of your father; the other says you should not leave, who can guarantee that Frank would love you forever? What would happen in the distant unknown country and place? At the end of the story, among the swaying crowd in the station, she asked herself: "Could she still draw back after all he had done for her?" (ZHANG, 1987, p. 27). At this moment, she is a little regretful in escaping with her boyfriend. So it is no surprising that she changed her mind at the last moment.

In the first part of the story, Joyce just used the method of the flow of experience to describe, in fact, the whole life of Eveline, from childhood till now, because she has to make a life-and-death decision. The flow of experience has made a very good preparation for his following method of "epiphanies".

### **Joyce's Method of "Epiphanies"**

Joyce's theory of "epiphanies" refers to a deep insights that might be gained through incidents and circumstances which seem outwardly insignificant (LIU, 2001, p. 493). The method has the following two features.

First, his "epiphanies" does not only refer to a sudden very strong emotion when you understand something suddenly, instead it needs a mental preparation, and it must have close connection with the inner struggle of the character. What is more, it must be in accordance with the plot of the story.

Second, "epiphanies" must occur at the critical moment of the characters mental activities, and it needs incidents and circumstances to help or to urges the character to understand or make a decision at last. This is usually the climax of the story.

To be exact, Part I, the flow of experience, describes the character's inner struggle and it is the thorough preparation for Eveline's "epiphanies" in this part. If we say that Eveline could not make the final decision when she thought her father, but when she mused the pitful vision of her mother's life, she decided to leave. "She stood up in a sudden impulse of terror. Escape! She must escape! Frank would save her. He would give her life, perhaps love, too" (ZHANG, 1987, p. 26). Her mother's miserable life helps her to understand suddenly that she could not live like her mother anymore. She has a right to happiness, so she decides to leave and to begin her new life.

Eveline stood among the swaying crowd in the station with her boyfriend Frank. She was in a maze of distress and doubted the truth of the unknown world, doubted whether Frank would keep his love. The tumbling sea seemed suddenly to draw her back to reality. When she was really about to leave, she did not find the life a wholly undesirable. She could not leave, she was afraid to leave, so she gripped the iron railing with both hands as if they were the last straw of life. Like a helpless bird in the cage, she gave Frank no sign of love or farewell. Her escape ended in failure.

Joyce's method of "epiphanies" in "Eveline" occurs at two most critical moment of the story. One is when she decided to leave, another happens at the end of the story when she changed her mind. The method succeeds in depicting Eveline's inner struggle, and failure of escaping away from the dull life of Dublin. This method is also the foundation for his later method of "stream of consciousness".

### **Joyce's Symbolic Method**

Joyce is very skillful in using symbolism to express his ideas or theme.

The story starts in the evening of a day, which symbolizes the hopeless and lifeless way of living in Dublin. In order to describe the paralysis of the city, Joyce used "dust", at the beginning of the story, "She looked round the room, reviewing all its familiar objects which she had doted once a week for so many years, wondering where on earth all the dust came from" (ZHANG, 1987, p. 23). "Dust" here symbolizes the dry, sterile, and dull life of Dublin.

The most excellent place of using this method is at the end of the story. "All the seas of the world tumbled about her heart. He was drawing her into them: he would drown her. She gripped with both hands at the iron railing" (ZHANG, 1987, p. 27). The "tumbling seas" is an insurmountable barrier to her unknown new life, and her heart was just like the tumbling seas that were not in peace. Anyhow the "tumbling seas" are going to



draw her into it. At this moment, she is afraid, she worries her future, and she is not as determined as before. The "iron railing" were just like the bars of prison or the bars of a bird cage, and she, who is behind the bar, was like a helpless bird in the cage. Could she get out of the cage? Where could she fly to? What would happen to her if she were in a new place?

Eveline herself is also a symbol of the young people at that time in Dublin. They want to escape from the paralyzed city, but they are not determined enough. Dublin is the epitome of the whole society. Young people, like Eveline, are shaped in the existing surroundings, their efforts often end in bitter resignation or fruitless discontent like Eveline.

### Conclusions

"Eveline" is a very short story, only about five pages in length, with very simple plot. A girl named Eveline was in a dilemma whether she should leave with her boyfriend or stay with her family, yet from the above analysis, we can see that James Joyce used various methods to make the story gripping and his heroine attractive. He is skillful in using the flow of experience, especially the method of "epiphanies" to describe Eveline's mental struggle, her inner cry to get rid of the dull life in the paralyzed city of Dublin. Though the method of "epiphanies" is not as famous as his method of "stream of consciousness", and it is not so jumping as "stream of consciousness" in describing a character's mental activities, it is proved to have the same effect as the "stream of consciousness". Even though in writing "Eveline" Joyce did not exactly use the method of "stream of consciousness", the method of "epiphanies" has laid solid foundation for his later works. From the above analysis, we can also see that James Joyce is also the master of using symbolism, especially in subtleties. Eveline's failure in escaping her dull life in the end echoes James Joyce's usual theme: The young people's efforts often end in bitter resignation or fruitless discontent.

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# On *Yijing* in Chinese and English Nature Poetry: The Case Study of Wordsworth and WANG Wei

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The nature poetry written by English Romantic poet William Wordsworth (1770 AD-1850 AD) is a milestone in English literary history. Its inbuilt aesthetics transcended English poetics and reached the realm of *Yijing*, which is regarded as the highest achievement in Chinese poetics for nature poetry. In this perspective, poems written by TANG Dynasty poet WANG Wei (王维) can be well compared. Though they share similarities in aesthetical perception, the differences cannot be neglected: One difference is the contrast of emptiness and substantiality; the other lies in clarity and vagueness. This mutual illumination will not only build a channel in comparative literature and enhance cultural communication, more importantly, it also discovers the potential values of the two: First, Wordsworth's unique aesthetical awareness is forwarded. Second, it helps to promote the value of ancient Chinese poetic theory.

*Keywords:* *Yijing*, nature poetry, Wordsworth, WANG Wei, comparison

## Introduction

Chinese Mountain-Water Poetry (山水诗) or nature poetry has a long tradition. But the correspondent poetic genre in English literature started very late. Poetry before English Romanticism seldom depicted natural scenes. English Romantic poet William Wordsworth (1770 AD-1850 AD) had a sharp perception on nature and wrote several beautiful nature poems. These nature poems are also among the best in English poetry, such as "Tintern Abbey" (1798), "Daffodils" (1804), and "Westminster Bridge" (1802), etc.. Wordsworth's nature poetry is not only a milestone in English history of poetry, but also a masterpiece according to ancient Chinese aesthetics of nature poetry, for which *Yijing* (意境, or the associated mind realm in natural objects) is considered the highest achievement. This paper mainly focuses on the poetic *Yijing* in Wordsworth's poem "Daffodils" (or "I Wandered Lonely as a Cloud", 1804), and brings Chinese nature poetry written by early TANG Dynasty poet WANG Wei (王维, about 660 AD-720 AD) into comparison.

This paper utilizes the methodology of literary hermeneutics to evaluate Wordsworth's nature poetry from a perspective of Chinese poetical aesthetics, and compares the similarities and differences of *Yijing* in English and Chinese nature poetry. The justification for such an intercultural dialogue lies in the universality of aesthetical perception of human mind—that is, a common poetic heart. This approach of mutual-hermeneutics digs a channel for the free interchangeability and mutual illumination of common poetic experiences in different national literatures.

### Similarities

In Chinese literary history, skills of writing nature poetry were already superb in high TANG Dynasty (618 AD-907 AD), not only the poetic visions much broadened, but also transferred from realistic portray of natural objects to the exploration of rich implications. The poets tried to entrust sublimity in commonality, to see the deep meaning under surface scenery. Poets at this time had the perfect artistry in gathering and refining imagery and in handling between actualities and virtualities, thus, the image beyond images, or *Yijing* became the criterion of nature poetry evaluation. *Yijing* is produced by a series of imagery compounding and sublimating, it is a metaphysical quality generated from the overall atmosphere of poetry. The beauty of *Yijing* can only be perceived by the reader's aesthetical awareness; it can hardly be described in theories. The TANG Dynasty poet WANG Chang-ling (王昌龄, 698 AD-756 AD) first used the term *Yijing* in Chinese poetry criticism:

That the poetry has three stages, the first is the stage of natural objects. In writing the nature poetry, one should look at springs, stones, clouds, and mountains, imagine the most beautiful scenes in the heart, move into the scene and observe it by mind, as if it becomes crystal-clear in one's hand, then think about it and get the formal resemblance. The second is the stage of emotion, in which joys and sorrows permeated mentally and physically, then gallop one's wild thoughts, and get the temperament. The third stage is *Yijing*, also take a mind view and inward thinking, and then get the very essence of Truth.<sup>1</sup>

*Yijing* by itself is an artistic realm, in which the poet may express his feelings, ideas, and aesthetic perceptions that have transcended the reality. The beauty of *Yijing* in art is derived from a clear and calm mind. It has a long tradition in Chinese culture, as early as Lao Tzu's "purified mind and penetrating vision" (涤除玄览《老子·十章》, n.d.) or Zhuang Tzu's "mind-abstinence" (心斋《庄子·人间世》, n.d.). LU Ji (陆机, 261 AD-303 AD) in West JIN Dynasty wrote in his *Wenfu* (《文赋》, 300 AD): "Completely forbid hearing and seeing, concentrate the mind; let thought spread to everywhere and travel a vast distance"<sup>2</sup>. ZONG Bing (宗炳, 375 AD-433 AD) of the Southern Dynasties also had a famous saying: "Empty the mind and ponder on the imagery"<sup>3</sup>. The SONG Dynasty literary master SU Shi (苏轼, 1037 AD-1101 AD) held the similar view: "If one wants the verses to be perfect, just sink into emptiness and calmness; in calmness one can understand other's activity, and in emptiness, one can incorporate it into infinite varieties"<sup>4</sup>.

English Romantic poets attempted to combine the internal and external, and stressed the power of imagination in artistic creation; this laid a foundation for creating *Yijing* in nature poetry. Wordsworth (2001) said that poetry originates from "emotion recollected in tranquility" (p. 665). He put forward the syllogism for poetry writing: excitement—calmness—re-excitement. The first excitement is determined by the poet's sensitivity; then keep distance and give an clear afterthought; at last, use the rich imagination to recall the vivid scene, and relive the experience. The thoughts precipitation like that of Wordsworth is a necessary process to achieve *Yijing*. Sidney (1554 AD-1586 AD) wrote in *An Apology for Poetry* (2002):

<sup>1</sup> "诗有三境：一曰物境。欲为山水诗，则张泉石云峰之境，极丽绝秀者，神之于心，处身于境，视境于心，莹然掌中，然后用思，了然境象，故得形似。二曰情境。娱乐愁怨，皆张于意而处于身，然后驰思，深得其情。三曰意境。亦张之于意而思之于心，则得其真矣" (GUO, 2001, p. 88).

<sup>2</sup> "收视反听，耽思傍讯，精鹜八极，心游万仞" (LU, 2002, p. 36).

<sup>3</sup> "澄怀味象" (Beijing Daxue Zhexuexi, 1981, p. 177).

<sup>4</sup> "欲令诗语妙，无厌空且静。静故了群动，空故纳万境" (Beijing Daxue Zhexuexi, 1981, p. 35).

Only the poet, disdaining to be tied to any such subjection (to nature), lifted up with the vigor of his own invention, doth grow in effect into another nature, in making things either better than Nature bringeth forth, or, quite anew, forms such as never were in Nature. (p. 85)

Wordsworth tried to transcend the debate between Romantic and Neoclassical poetics, and to reach a higher balance or harmony of artistic interests, a sublime realm. His poem “Daffodils” serves as a good example, even judged by the criterion of *Yijing* in Chinese poetics:

I wandered lonely as a cloud  
That floats on high o'er vales and hills,  
When all at once I saw a crowd,  
A host, of golden daffodils;  
Beside the lake, beneath the trees,  
Fluttering and dancing in the breeze.  
Continuous as the stars that shine  
And twinkle on the milky way,  
They stretched in never-ending line  
Among the margin of a bay:  
Ten thousand saw I at a glance,  
Tossing their heads in sprightly dance.  
The waves beside them danced; but they  
Out-did the sparkling waves in glee:  
A poet could not but be gay,  
In such a jocund company:  
I gazed—and gazed—but little thought  
What wealth the show to me had brought:  
For oft, when on my couch I lie,  
In vacant or in passive mood,  
They flash upon that inward eye  
Which is the bliss of solitude;  
And then my heart with pleasure fills,  
And dances with the daffodils. (Wordsworth, 2001, p. 250)

When walking in the wild nature, the poet suddenly saw a vast stretch of daffodils by the lake, the astonishing beauty stunned him. He gazed at the flowers, which swayed their heads in the breeze, as if stars hanging on the night sky. He got an illusion; the daffodils become a lively friend shedding the resplendent luster of life. Somehow, a strong feeling of ecstasy came to him. He was wondering the cause of such a mentality. The nature imagery has become *Yijing* in the poet's heart, which may recall the sweet memory when he was alone. CAI Xiao-shi had a marvelous description of this:

The indirectness serves to exhaust the meaning and the remoteness serves to deepen the tone. At first reading, it shows the flourishing flowers in spring, the fascination of various colors, the white snow covering the vast land, and the splendid rosy clouds glowing on the sky, this is the first stage. The second reading shows the waves of smoke permeating boundlessly, the frost flying in the fierce wind, the steed galloping down the slope, and the fish jumping out of the water, this is the second stage. The last reading shows the bright and clear moon, the poised and elegant cloud, the highflying wild geese, the rain-like falling leaves, one is wondering the cause of plainness and placidness, calmness and detachedness. Jiang Shunyi commented: ‘the first stage is dominated by emotion, the second by Qi, or the vital force, the

last by the virtue of art.<sup>5</sup>

The daffodil in Wordsworth's poetry is not a fixed image of flowers, but surging with dynamic forces. Poetry devoted to *Yijing* focuses on one instant, which may not come along with reality. The flowers in "Daffodils" change and move with the poet's imagination, though flowers are still flowers, the poet's excitement and happiness are fully demonstrated. Keats (1795 AD-1821 AD) also wrote such verses in the sonnet "When I Have Fears":

When I behold, upon the night's starred face,  
Huge cloudy symbols of a high romance. (5-6) (Keats, 1970, p. 296)

When the night falls, it is impossible for the clouds on the sky to cast clear contour of shadows on the ground, so this contour is not a simple metaphor—it is poetic truth, not truth in nature. It consists of a transformed reality—actually a short period of time, in which aggregated so many intense feelings and ideas that are contradictory to and intermingled with each other. Chinese literary tradition also has pithy accounts for the difference between art and reality. HU Ying-lin (胡应麟, 1979) in MING Dynasty gave a good review on ZHANG Ji's (张继, 715 AD-779 AD) poem "Casting Anchor by the Maple Bridge" (枫桥夜泊) (750 AD):

People talking about the verse "Reach the boat when bell rings in the midnight" are all deceived by the poet. Poetry puts moving scenes in its language only for the sake of rhyme and meter, and for the suitability of imagery inspiration. The poet did not care for the minor facts. Whether it is midnight or not, the bell rings or not, cannot be attested.<sup>6</sup>

WANG Shi-zheng (王士禛, 1634 AD-1711 AD) said: "Most of the ancient poetry and painting only paid attention to the inspiration and instinct, mechanically engaged in textual research will lose its essence"<sup>7</sup>. The QING Dynasty painter ZHENG Ban-qiao (郑板桥, 1693 AD-1765 AD) also wrote down his experience:

In a riverside mansion, I went out to see bamboos in the morning of a fine autumn day. The smoke, light, and shadow were all drifting among the branches and leaves. I felt the urge to draw a picture. However, the bamboo in my mind was not that in my eyes. When I prepared ink and brush, sudden revisions were made at the juncture of drawing; the bamboo drawn was not that in my mind. In short, the mind before drawing is a rule; while the inspiration was beyond the rules, it is elusive.<sup>8</sup>

## Differences

However, when studying the *Yijing* of poetry one should not overlook the essential differences of it between Chinese and English nature poetry. The first is the contrast of emptiness and substantiality. Western culture aims at the existence and objects, so the substance becomes the foremost concern. Keats could hardly

<sup>5</sup> "夫意以曲而善托，调以杳而弥深。始读之则万萼春深，百色妖露，积雪缟地，余霞绮天，一境也。再读之则烟涛飒洞，霜飙飞摇，骏马下坡，泳鳞出水，又一境也。卒读之而皎皎明月，仙仙白云，鸿雁高翔，坠叶如雨，不知其何以冲然而澹，倚然而远去。江顺贻评之曰：始境，情胜也。又境，气胜也。终境，格胜也" (as cited in ZONG, 2005, p. 92).

<sup>6</sup> "夜半钟声到客船"，谈者纷纷，皆为昔人愚弄。诗借流景立言，惟在声律之调，兴象之合，区区事实，彼岂暇计？无论夜半是非，即钟声闻否，未可知也" (HU, 1979, p. 195).

<sup>7</sup> "大抵古人诗画，只取兴会神到，若刻舟缘木求之，失其指矣" (GUO, 2001, p. 370).

<sup>8</sup> "江馆清秋，晨起看竹，烟光日影露气，皆浮动于疏枝密叶之间。胸中勃勃，遂有画意。其实胸中之竹，并不是眼中之竹也。因而磨墨展纸，落笔倏作变相，手中之竹，又不是胸中之竹也。总之意在笔先者，定则也；趣在法外者，化机也。独画云乎哉！" (Beijing Daxue Zhexuexi, 1981, p. 340).

find a soul mate who really understood the significance of emptiness in his verse “Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard/Are sweeter” (Keats, 1970, p. 534). The Western philosophy aspired to clarify the entire unknown world, always puts the emptiness as substance. Chinese philosophy regards the emptiness as the destination of universe, “all things come from Being, and Being comes from Nothing” (万物皆生于有，有生于无《老子·四十章》，n.d.). Chinese people see the empty space in universe is full of Qi (气) or the vital energy, Being is the condensation of Qi, emptiness is the origin of Being, and the destination of diffused Qi. Therefore, Being and Nothing are not contradictory, but two patterns of Qi. The difference in Chinese and Western philosophy certainly causes the different views of art, an obvious example is the difference between the oil painting, which leaves no blank space, and traditional Chinese painting, which attaches great importance to blank places. Blankness and fillings are mutually symbiotic; though the lines break off, the ideas connect. This mode of thinking, applied in poetry writing, gives a clear and empty *Yijing*. WANG Wei’s poems combine the ideal and artistic beauty of *Yijing*, and give subtle but profound implications. Following is his poem “The Vale of Singing Birds” (700AD):

In leisure time, the petals of osmanthus flowers fall;  
The nocturnal quiet empties the mountains in spring.  
Birds, startled by the rising moon,  
Burst into song now and then in the spring vale.<sup>9</sup>

The chirping birds and bright moon are audio-visual elements. The poet did not employ something silent and still to delineate the serene and empty mountain, but recorded voices and colors. By contrast, the mountain is more serene and empty. If it is described as deadly quiet, the poetic aroma will be lost. Now look at another poem “Lily Magnolias Fence” (700AD):

The setting sun glowing on the autumn mountain,  
Flying birds follow their companions.  
The gaudy green color is flashing,  
The shapeless evening mist is floating.<sup>10</sup>

The brilliantly charming scenery is not steady; it will soon vanish and turn the rich substance into emptiness in a blink. Emptiness and substance are the same, so seeing things is seeing the mind, forget things when one sees the mind. The SONG Dynasty poetry critic YAN Yu (严羽, about 1192 AD-1241 AD) adopted the aesthetics of Zen Buddhism to build up his poetics, “music from the heaven, color of the picture, moon in the water, image in the mirror”<sup>11</sup>. The crystal clean *Yijing* of the above two poems is a dreamland, in which all vexations and worries are cleansed away, only beauty left. HU Ying-lin’s (1551 AD-1602 AD) annotation to WANG Wei’s poetry goes like this, “smooth but not rude, profound but not repressed, gorgeous but not apathetic, almost emptied in both substance and form, it is extremely elegant and refined”<sup>12</sup>.

The other difference lies in clarity and vagueness. English poetic tradition mostly tries to clarify, while Chinese

<sup>9</sup> “人闲桂花落，夜静春山空，月出惊山鸟，时鸣春涧中” (WANG, 1997, p. 637).

<sup>10</sup> “秋山敛馀照，飞鸟逐前侣。彩翠时分明，夕岚无处所” (WANG, 1997, p. 418).

<sup>11</sup> “空中之音，相中之色，水中之月，镜中之像” (HE, 1981, p. 688).

<sup>12</sup> “和平而不暴气，深厚而不伤格，浓丽而不乏情，几于色相俱空，风雅备极” (HU, 1979, p. 83).

philosophy accepts the concept of vagueness, it does not bother to vainly explore the Truth, because the “Tao (the Way) is elusive” (道之为物，惟恍惟惚，《老子·二十一章》，n.d.). Chinese view of art is indeed a kind of intuitionism, like that described in Sikong Tu’s (837 AD-908 AD) “The Floating and Serene Style” (900 AD):

In deep isolation, ready to take off, one is proud and aloof. Like the crane from Hou Mountain, or clouds at the peak of Hua Mountain. A hermit with harmony inside, Has a mild and smiling face. A flying weed tumbling on the wind, He floats across boundless space. Hard to grasp this style, But you can almost hear it. Those who understand, wait. If you desire it, it will retreat.<sup>13</sup>

This is also due to linguistic difference; language is considered as a tool for English poets. Chinese culture degrades the use of any tools, “the Tao is superior, while the tool is inferior” (形而上者谓之道，形而下者谓之器《周易正义·系辞上》，n.d.). Language as a tool of literature is also degraded. Chinese culture knows the implicitness and unspeakability of language, “the Tao that can be told, is not the eternal Tao” (道可道，非常道《老子·一章》，n.d.), “once one has got the meaning, one should forget the language” (得意而忘言《庄子·杂篇·外物》，n.d.), “the heaven and earth possess the supreme beauty but only speechless” (天地有大美而不言《庄子·知北游》，n.d.), LIU Xie (刘勰, 465 AD-520 AD) wrote in his authoritative *Wen Xin Diao Long* (《文心雕龙》，502 AD):

That subtle implication behind the mind, that ulterior suggestion beyond the spoken: these things cannot be pursued by language, or be stated in literature. It takes an appreciation of ultimate realm to explain the exquisite, an understanding of absolute change to perceive the artistry. Yi Yin could not tell you about the cooking in the cauldron, no more could wheelwright Bian communicate to you the wielding of the axe, such being the mystery of these mechanisms.<sup>14</sup>

Chinese poetic criticism serves as an initiator or indicator, it enlightens the reader to get the quintessence and forget the tool or channel. The metaphysical quality of literature like *Yijing* does not count for much in English literary criticisms.

The formation of English language makes English poetry hard to achieve *Yijing* as that in Chinese poetry. With the development of cultural communication, modern American poetry was inspired by classical Chinese poetry. English poets after the Second World War struggled to shake off the language limitations. Pound (1885 AD-1972 AD) used the juxtaposition of images and removed the unnecessary words that were considered as redundancy. The Beat Generation poet Gary Snyder (1930- ) assimilated more artistry from Chinese poetry, he practiced Zen Buddhism and learned TANG Dynasty monk Han Shan’s (寒山, about 691 AD-793 AD) style, his poetry achieved deep and broad *Yijing*.

## Conclusions

In the past, Chinese scholars in comparative literature mostly employed western literary theory to interpret Chinese literary texts. This paper aims at the counter-interpretation, that is using Chinese literary theory of *Yijing* to interpret Wordsworth’s nature poetry. From this perspective, the artistic value of Wordsworth’s nature poetry emerged more clearly than it is in the western literary tradition. Wordsworth’s stylistic handling of nature

<sup>13</sup> “落落欲往，矫矫不群。缑山之鹤，华顶之云。高人画中，令色氤氲。御风蓬叶，泛彼无垠。如不可执，如将有闻。识者已领，期之愈分。” (HE, 1981, p. 44).

<sup>14</sup> “至于思表纤旨，文外曲致，言所不追，笔固知止。至精而后阐其妙，至变而后通其数，伊挚不能言鼎，轮扁不能语斤，其微矣乎！” (LIU, 1958, p. 495).

poetry is innovative in the history of English poetry. His aesthetical perception transcended his own age, all these can be better appreciated by Chinese aesthetics. Though they share similarities in poetics *Yijing*, one should always be cautious about the essential differences. LIU Yu-xi (772 AD-842 AD) commented: "Poetry is a difficult one among literary genres, once the meaning becomes evident; the language dies. This esoteric feature makes it hard to be proficiently mastered. *Yijing* goes beyond the imagery; its exquisiteness resists any imitation"<sup>15</sup>. Chinese poetry follows the lead of *Yijing*, and freely pursues the intuitive beauty that does not cling to objects. Chinese philosophy and art know the limitations of objects and tools. Chinese poets give up the pursuit for a clear description of *Yijing*, interestingly; this ingenious concession yields the perfection of poetry and the efflorescence of poetics.

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<sup>15</sup> “诗者其文章之蕴邪？义得而言丧，故微而难能，境生于象外，故精而寡和” (GUO, 2001, p. 90).



# Theory of Mind and the Unreliable Narrator

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Theory of Mind was used in the analysis of characters' mind, which provides a new perspective to study the unreliable narrator. This paper takes for its object of analysis the interrelationship between the narrator's mind and the interwoven network of the minds in the unreliable narration. The main articulations of this study are intended to reflect some of the theoretical concerns central to the unreliable narrator from the aspects of the minds of author, characters, and readers to present a full examination of cognitive mechanical formation of unreliable narration, the reality of the unreliable text world and its cognitive effort for the readers. Findings suggest that the unreliable narrator is the ones the author (implied author) chooses to represent the real cognitive world of real life and the unreliable narration question and probe the limits of human minds and human expectations, and force the reader to rethink and reconsider reactions that seem "natural".

*Keywords:* Theory of Mind, the unreliable narrator, the minds of unreliable narration

## Introduction

Theory of Mind provides a new perspective to probe the complexity of the minds of unreliable narration. Booth made the first definition of the unreliable narrator in his famous book *The Rhetoric of Fiction* in 1961, which intrigued the wide range study of it in literature criticism. Until Phelan (2005), who was well known as the leader of postclassical rhetorical theory of narrative, inherited his guider Booth's hypothesis of the distance between the narrator and the implied author as the yardstick, extends "unreliable narration" from two axes to three axes, and illustrated its six subtypes in detail. However, he paid no attention to the cognitive aspect of the unreliable narrator and implied author. Nünning (1997) gave evidence that narrative unreliability can be reconceptualized in the context of frame theory and of readers' cognitive strategies, and claims that:

These include both textual data and the reader's preexisting conceptual knowledge of the world. In sum whether a narrator is called unreliable or not does not depend on the distance between the norms and values of the narrator and those of the implied author but between the distance that separates the narrator's view of the world from the reader's world-model and standards of normality. (pp. 83-105)

Nünning (1997) put too much emphasis on the reader's role in the perception of reliability, and neglected the work of the minds of the unreliable narrator and the interwoven network of the minds in the text world with a cognitive theory of unreliability.

### The Minds of the Unreliable Narration

The unreliable narration questions and probes the limits of human minds and human expectations, and forces the reader to rethink and reconsider reactions that seem “natural”. The authors often:

Construct their characters as human beings with ToM skills similar to the reader. However, writers may also undermine readers’ and characters’ assumptions that they correctly perceive others’ intentions, by deliberately depicting mistakes in their construction of other people’s minds—or misconstruction—thereby creating complex webs of misunderstanding and misinterpretation between people of different cultures or even those growing up in the same home (as in Shakespeare’s *Othello* or *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*). (Marron, 2011, p. 187)

Abnormal minds provide a perfect laboratory for examining how human characters contend with, adapt to, and overcome—or fail to overcome—obstacles to their own survival and success. Such world allows for “extreme case analysis” and provides readers with optional cognitive “playgrounds” for their own thinking and feeling brains.

The unreliability of narrator exists not in the distance between the implied author and the narrator, or the distance between the reader and the fact presented in the text, but the distance between the mind of narrator and the other minds in the text world or his/her own minds. Oatley (2011) claimed: “A narrative is also a kind of simulation, one that runs on minds. It binds a complex of intentions, outcomes, and emotions together into a comprehensible whole” (p. 21). It is for such matters that we need not just a Theory of Mind, but Theory of Minds to study the unreliability of the narrator. According to the study of Palmer (2011):

An important part of the social mind is our capacity for intermental thought, which is joint, group, shared, or collective thought, as opposed to intramental, or individual or private thought. It is also known as socially distributed, situated, or extended cognition, and also as intersubjectivity. (p. 28)

So when we study the reliability of a narrator, we should consider not only the intramental thought, which will be varied as the unfolding of the narrator’s telling, but also the intermental thought, which is a crucially important component of fictional narrative, because:

Much of the mental functioning that occurs in novels is done by large organizations, small groups, work colleagues, friends, families, couples, and other intermental units. It could plausibly be argued that a large amount of the subject matter of novels is the formation, development, and breakdown of these intermental systems. (Palmer, 2011, p. 28)

These social minds are woven into the fabric of unreliable narration.

To some extent, the unreliable narration can be the supplement of the unnatural narration, that is, some of the unreliable narrator has the mental problem, or lack the cognitive capability of mind-reading. As the cognitive turn of literary criticism, Theory of Mind became the most important methods of the analysis of fictional text. Theory of Mind is central to read and understand literature, which is what enables us to “put ourselves in another’s shoes”, that is:

The mechanism we use to understand what is going on in other people’s heads. How we react to one another socially is the most important aspect of our lives. Without an understanding of what people think, what they want and what they believe about the world, it is impossible to operate in any society. Theory of Mind is the name given to this understanding of others. It is the basic necessity of humanity and is understood the same way the world over. (O’Connell, 1997, p. 2)

This means that we can understand, define, and describe people on the basis of their perceived (or understood) beliefs, desires, feelings, values, experiences, and intentions. So when we read a novel, we treat characters as if they are real people, and we ascribe to them a ToM. As for the reader of novels, “the only way in which the reader can understand a novel is by trying to follow the workings of characters’ minds and thereby by attributing states of minds to them” (Palmer, 2011, p. 29). However, it is difficult for the readers to construct mental frames for the unreliable narrators. Because a narrator with a mental disability or a skewed perspective is indicative of unreliability as well as the under-developed perspective of a child narrator, and who lack the basic cognitive capability for mind-reading. So according to the relationships between the unreliability of narrators and their capability of mind-reading, there are five basic types of cognitive unreliable narrator. First, the mental disordered narrators, who cannot understand of other’s thoughts, and just give the fragmented description of what they saw, such as the characters in Faulkner’s novel *The Sound and the Fury* (2009). Second, the narrators are the strong-minded people with the negative emotion, attitude, and worldview about others, which may hinder their judgment of others’ minds, such as the unreliable narrator in *Atonement* (2003). Third, their cognitive capability is underdevelopment, such as the narrator in Joyce Carol Oates’s novel *My Sister, My Love* (2008). In this novel, Skyler’s narration about the story of his murdered sister is unreliable. On the one hand, his cognitive condition made him not have the capability to explain what had happened to his sister at the night of the murder, when he was nine years old, and his sister was six years old; on the other hand, he could not make up from the trauma of that event and was in the mental hospital since that time. Fourth, can we say we really know our own thought, or that of others? In fact, we are not sure of that, especially, when we recollect the memory of past event. It involves many factors, consisted with the lost memory fragment and mystery of the past fact. At the same time, neither can we shed off the influence of the present emotion, worldview, and value, nor have a know-all ability to read other’s real intention. It’s particularly difficult for us to guess the people mind whose mind frame is beyond our existent ones. Fifth, some characters tend to be difficult to read. They may be impassivity and impenetrability. As Theory of Mind also relates to dispositions that persist over time and that form part of another’s character or personality, some personality of the unreliable narrator also inclined to be considered as unreliable. Above five kinds of minds represent most of the types of unreliable narrators, but not all of that.

“Plays, films, short stories, and novels are about people with intentions who interact with each other. People are good at understanding processes on step at a time, but less good at understanding intersections of such processes” (Oatley, 2011, p. 21). This seems to suggest humans should recognize the limitations of their normal human intuition and, when confronted with seemingly alien modes of behavior, they should adopt a more formal logical approach. Like their fictional protagonists, readers should observe others, collect empirical data and extrapolate new world—or cultural—rules. This approach can encourage readers to adopt a more flexible, and perhaps sympathetic, approach to different modes of thinking. Many writers of unreliable narration believed that their narratives could thus encourage a more pluralistic society.

### **Realities of Unreliable Narration**

The unreliable narrator is the one the author (implied author) chooses to represent the real cognitive world of real life. “So, being able to know others and oneself requires imagination” (Oatley, 2011, p. 13). That is, what we know about our own mind and others is not so reliable. In real life, although most of us have the capability to read

other's mind, we cannot know the real mind of other's people, especially for an intruder to our circumstances. Palmer (2011) claimed that:

In cognitive terms, nearly all of our life is spent on the surface, on the outside, on the sense that all of the minds with which you are involved (with the admittedly rather important exception of your own) are only ever experienced on the surface, and from the outside. (p. 29)

In this sense, the true mystery of narration is not the reliable narration, but the unreliable narration. For most of the unreliable narrator never tell you about the real truth of the story, instead, they just told you about what they saw as an outsider. Just as the visible or appearance is the most appreciated aspect, it is not surprising that Wilde (2005) said that: "It is only shallow people who do not judge by appearances. The true mystery of the world is the visible, not the invisible" (p. 23). From this point, the unreliable narrator is representation of the reality of the real life.

There is a paradoxical assumption: We perceive people's observable behavior as both a highly informative and at the same time quite unreliable source of information about their minds.

In fact, it might be difficult for us to appreciate just how much mind reading takes place on a level inaccessible to our consciousness. For it seems that while our perceptual systems eagerly register the information about people's bodies and their facial expressions, these systems do not necessarily make all that information available to us for our conscious interpretation. (Zunshine, 2011, p. 65)

This double perspective is fundamental and inescapable, and it informs all of our social life and cultural representations. As for the fictional minds, "works of fiction magnify and vivify various points on the continuum of our imperfect mutual knowledge: spectacular feats and failures of mind reading are the hinges on which many a fictional plot turns" (Zunshine, 2011, p. 69). So the unreliable narration perfectly reflects of this kind of unreadable of mind.

We use our Theory of Mind in natural, nonconscious ways when dealing with other people, but this is not adequate for understanding the cognitive processes of nonstandard human minds, we must more consciously be aware of the types of logical, deductive steps one must go through in our mind reading process of the unreliable narration.

Even though we know that there must be a mental state behind a behavior, we don't really know what that state is. That is, there is always a possibility that something else is going on behind even the most seemingly transparent behavior. (Zunshine, 2011, p. 69)

According to the study of cognitive psychology, there would be a motivation behind all the actions. So in real world, it is easy to see others' action, gesture, facing express, and hear their words, and then we can deduct what is their mind. However, most of the time we have the wrong guess, although we can easy to guess someone is thirsty, when he pours himself a glass of water. As for more complex mind, when we want to know whether the other love you or not, you may guess from the expression, body language, and the words, but all these can lead you to the opposite conclusion. On the other hand, if you are the narrator, as the lack of adequate information or having some other consideration, you may make up some details of the story, or hide some real fact, which is normal in real life. According to Phelan's (2005) opinion, the narrator who violates the normal values of ethics is the unreliable one. But we cannot say the narrator who distracts from the normal way is the

real unreliable narrator, he may be the one who has the different opinion about the world. In this sense, at least, he is reliable narrator of his own mind. To some extent, the unreliable narrator may be the real honest narrator of the reality of social life.

So unreliable narration does not mean that there should be a reducing of reality of the text world, on the contrary, it is the representation of the real scene of cognitive world of narrator.

### **Shorten the Cognitive Distance Between Reader and the Unreliable Narrator**

Theory of Mind is the basis for the reader to understand the unreliable narration. Zunshine in her *Why We Read Fiction: Theory of Mind and the Novel* (2006) argued that reading engages and improves mind reading abilities. First, we should acknowledge Nünning (1997) had discovered the cognitive distance between the reader and the text world. Nünning (1997) claimed whether a reader can judge a narrator as a reliable or unreliable is based on his own world knowledge. If a reader did not have the knowledge of mind reading, he cannot understand the reason for the young man in Poe's (2012) novel who always steer the floor and judge the young man as an unreliable narrator. However, the unreliable narration can also help to improve the reader's mind-reading capability. As Turner (2011) claimed that: "Human beings go beyond merely imagining stories or concepts that run counter to the present environment. We can also connect them and blend them to make third mental array" (p. 41). That is, the reader of an unreliable narration can construct the logical plots and reasonable story; this involves the readers' mental blending capability, which is combining the real world and the fictional world of the unreliable narrator to form a relative reasonable world, which was also called the naturalize process by critics. On the contrary, the author (the implied author) deliberately covers the information provided by the narrator, which increases the difficulties of understanding the text. For example, in Joyce Carol Oates's *My Sister, My Love*, the narrator repeatedly retold the scene of the night in which his sister was murdered, the reader had to imagine the scene and guess the possible murder following his revised memory for that. But for his under-age and mental disorder, he presented the reader with fragmented piece of memory and unreadable language of his narration, which seriously hinder the reader to get the reliable information from his fragmented memory. So the readers need put more cognitive effort into the understanding the real meaning of the unreliable narrator and make clear the logical order of the whole story. As Zunshine (2011) proposed that we seem to enjoy being able to exercise this skill: working out the others keep hidden.

To some sense, it is important for how the narrator said, not what he said. For example, Oates' novel *Daddy Love* (2013), the novel was beginning with three different depiction of the scene of kidnapping. Most of readers maybe frustrated by this long and repeated beginning, but when we read the whole novel, we cannot wait to read the second time to find out the reason for the open repetition—this kind of beginning is the imitation of the real people's cognition condition when they faced with dangerous situation. So Oates (2013) depicted the unreliable narrator not in the sense of the content of their telling, but in the sense of the way of their telling, that is, what they say is almost reliable, but how they say is unreliable. In this sense, traditionally, the reader may easily recognize the contradiction in the narration of unreliable narrator. After the cognitive turn of literature study and creation, there are more and more cognitive fictions to challenge the readers' judgment and experience, which directly reveal characters mental experiences, raw sensations, and temporal perspective.

On the other hand, the unreliable narrator provides the reader a new perspective to recognize the world. Most of us see the world from the normal sense, and cannot have the opportunity to see the world from the other's point, especially the abnormal mental world, or the distanced childhood, which may help us to get a good understanding of the work of others' minds. In this sense, the reader is the same to the observer who involves into the feeling of seeing the world from the abnormal perspectives of the unreliable narrator, which is different from their normal life. In one word, the unreliable text provides the reader an opportunity to exercise their mind to experience a different world. "Thus the extended version of our self in the simulated world can experience things, and feel things, that in the everyday world it would not. We project ourselves into the simulated world, and we may come back changed" (Oatley, 2011, p. 23). Reading helps us the change our minds about the world.

In reality each reader, when he is reading, is uniquely reading himself. The writer's work is only a kind of optical instrument which he offers the reader to enable him to discern what without this book he might not have seen in himself. (Proust, 2003, pp. 219-220)

So, as a result of such experiences of mind-reading of unreliable, everyday selves can increase the mental intelligence of others' minds.

So we can get the conclusion for the significance of unreliable narration for the readers: (1) It is resonated with the sympathetic reader's values; and (2) It blurs the reader's source-tracking ability. Most of unreliable narrators may have some cognitive causes for their unreliable narration. For example, although Herbert in *Lolita* (2009) intrigued so many controversial opinions about his behavior, he succeeded in winning the reader's sympathy when he tried to blur the reader's source-tracking ability, in spite of the fact that he may be considered as the rapider of *Lolita*. Literature provides the reader a perfect way to know what the other might think in some circumstance, just as Proust (2003) said: "[the novelist] sets loose in us all possible happinesses and all possible unhappinesses, just a few of which we would spend years of our lives coming to know" (p. 87).

### Conclusions

All in all, there is a close relationship between Theory of Mind and the unreliable narrator, that is, Theory of Mind helps us to identify the unreliability in the narration; on the other hand, the unreliable narrator provides now evidences for the study of the Theory of Mind. Palmer (2011) proposed that:

Overall, theory of mind has a projective quality: we cast a model onto another person in ordinary life, or onto a character in fiction. The model can be good, but as we interact more with the person or character, we sometimes find our model to be mistaken in some important respect: an opportunity to improve it, engaging in fiction but usually painful in real life. (as cited in Oatley, 2011, p. 16)

So fiction offers a fuller disclosure than we can obtain elsewhere of the contents of unreliable minds.

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# A Brief Contrast Between “Unfreeze Literature” in the Former Soviet Union and “Baihua Literature” in China

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The theme of the Soviet Unfreeze Literature is to reveal the contradictions and the dark side of the society. It opposes bureaucracy, requires care and respect for people, fully affirms the value of people, shows the beauty of people, especially ordinary little people, and covers the humanitarian issues under the Proletarian Dictatorship. However, due to the different political environment and Chinese writers' own deficiencies in their comprehension of literature, there exists quite a huge gap between the works of “Baihua Literature” and those of “Unfreeze Literature” both in terms of the main subjects and in the form of artistic expression, although they appear in the same period of time. Thus, Chinese Baihua Literature is unable to take on the breakthrough mission of “Seventeen-Year Literature”, from which a hard lesson could be drawn to benefit the later literature policy.

*Keywords:* Unfreeze Literature, policy of literature, Chinese Baihua Literature

## Introduction

As early as 1936, the new constitution was promulgated, announcing that the former Soviet society had eliminated class, established socialism, and demonstrated the complete match of productivity and production relations under the socialist system. So there was no more antagonistic contradictions in the society, instead there was only the difference between the advanced and the more advanced. This theory directly resulted in the birth of literary works that advocated “no conflict theory” and “whitewashing life”. Later, the Soviet Communist Party's violent literary policy intervention during the post-war period brought the theory into full play. The novel *Unfreeze* became very influential after its appearance in 1954. Writers and critics carried out in-depth discussions around the content of the novel, about whether literature and art should reflect the “dark side” of life, writers' attitude in writing, and how to reflect the real problems, etc.. This not only made the literary circle have consistent understanding of the practical problems in writing, but also made the open and free atmosphere become more common in the literary circle. After Stalin's (1879-1953) death, the political climate of the former Soviet Union became loose and the literary atmosphere experienced an unprecedented heat and liveliness. Many writers put their long-brewing ideas on paper. They shared similar characteristics in their writing, that is, taking active and bold intervention in life, exposing the conflicts, and criticizing bureaucracy and backwardness in leadership. Their creation “unfroze” the literary works of rural subjects,

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signifying that the short story in the former Soviet Union entered a period of blossom.

### **The Background and Development of the “Unfreeze Literature”**

In the 1950s, China's policy of literature and art was deeply influenced by that of the former Soviet Union. During this period of time, “Unfreeze Literature” of former Soviet Union and the Chinese “Baihua Literature” became the historical product of the times, with the former a product of “no conflict theory” and “whitewashing life”. The post-war former Soviet Union was facing the tough task of rebuilding the country, and people were leading an underprivileged life in spite of the victory of war, which brought serious casualties of labor force as well as the shortage of materials. Unsteady factors were lurking around as a result of the pressure of survival and the trauma of war. Worse still, the “cold war” policy enforced by Western countries during this period of time had intensified the Soviet government's worries about the unsteadiness. Hence, the authorities of the former Soviet Union needed to mobilize the people to return to work after the war, and to protect the reconstruction work against the negative influence of the West. The violent behavior of Zhdanovism after the war in the field of literature was an attempt by the Soviet communist Party to solve the problem. This left-leaning behavior seemed to have suppressed the creation of more literary works, but problems in real life became more acute under the pressure, and the voice for freedom from those at the very bottom grew stronger and stronger.

Stalin revised his wording in the report of *Socialist Economic Problems* (1952) about the consistency of productivity and production relations under socialist system, admitting that there still existed contradictions in socialist society in 1952. And the central government of the Soviet Communist Party as well as the theoretical circle began to re-examine the nature of the social contradictions in former Soviet Union, admitting the existence of negative phenomena. The publishing of the report played a key role in fixing the underlying mess, enabling the people of the former Soviet Union to clearly see the contradictions and problems in real life.

Literary and art workers began to reflect on this and have discussions, and quickly they exemplified their ideas in their works. After Stalin's death in March 1953, Khrushchev (1894-1971) became the new leader of the former Soviet Union, greatly transforming the political life. People of the former Soviet Union started to feel the substantial benefits brought by the change of political climate. Since then on, the positive achievements of discussions against “conflict-free theory” and whitewashing life had inspired writers, the air of liberation gradually was formed in the literary circle. Finally, the spring of literature that people had been yearning for a long time had arrived.

“Unfreeze Literature” was the product of slogans such as “literature should positively intervene in life”, “writing about true life”, anti-formalism, anti-idea-free, anti-whitewashing reality and so on. After Khrushchev came to power, “Unfreeze Literature” revealed the contradiction of social life and the dark side of the society. For instance, it opposed to bureaucracy, requested care and respect for people, fully affirmed people's value, showed the beauty of people, especially ordinary little people, and it also covered humanitarian problems under the dictatorship of the proletariats. The novel of *Unfreeze* by Ilya Grigoryevich Ehrenburg (1891-1967) published in 1954 became the first representative work after the anti-conflict-free campaign came into full swing. It represented the essence and trend of “Unfreeze Literature”, namely, literature ought to intervene in the real life and describe the real life.

“Unfreeze Literature” was a new period of development in the literature of the former Soviet Union. The

theoretical development and creative practice of this period was mutually promoted, which allowed “Unfreeze Literature” to carry on more deeply for the next decade, and what is more importantly, exerted a profound influence on contemporary Soviet literature. Unfortunately, Stalin’s regime failed to grasp this opportunity. Instead, it contained, controlled, and even condemned and suppressed it. Fortunately, thanks to the persistence of former Soviet writers, the hard “unfreeze” reached the climax of a literary Renaissance.

Held in December 1954 after Stalin’s death, the second Writer Congress of the Soviet Union sharply criticized the literary works in Stalin’s era for their formulation, generalization, and whitewashing ills, requiring the writers to reveal true life, to explain the contradictions and struggles in life, and to oppose formalism and lack of ideas.

Simonov (1915-1979) stressed several times in his conference report the importance of depicting real life truly and writers’ sincere attitude in writing:

Therefore, I would like to point out that any distortion to real life would not only lead to error in aesthetics, but eventually cause various shortcomings and errors of ideas, whether it is the keenness on the dark side of life, the indifference of development and progress in life, or the beautification of life. (as cited in LIN, 1999, p. 33)

“Socialist ideas cannot be based on lies. Only the true life can become the real foundation of literary creation, rather than something imaginary” (as cited in LIN, 1999, p. 33). His address at such an important meeting was accepted by the participants, and it accelerated the development of “Unfreeze Literature”.

After Stalin’s death, the political climate of the former Soviet Union became loose and the literary atmosphere experienced an unprecedented heat and liveliness. Many writers put their long-brewing ideas on paper. After the 20th Congress in February 1956, “Unfreeze Literature” experienced new development by criticizing “personal worship”. At the 30th Conference of the Communist Party of the former Soviet Union, Khrushchev made a secret report entitled *Personal Worship and its Consequences* (1961), causing an uproar at home and abroad. Not only did this become one of the most significant historical events in the world after the World War II, but it had a profound impact on many aspects of social life in the former Soviet Union. In the report, Khrushchev listed Stalin’s historical wrongdoings committed during his term, as well as his cruelty during the “Purge”. He requested that the party condemn and eradicate personal worship, completely eliminating its serious consequences. This was a scathing critique of the intensive dominance model of Stalin, and it also became the turning point of the social life in the former Soviet Union. The ideological trend of “unfreeze Literature” began to involve anti-personal superstition and exposition of the mistakes of the former policy, etc.. Related articles emerged constantly in literary journals. For instance, the editorial on *Literary Newspaper* in August 1956 pointed out that “... The kind of personal worship, which is contradictory to Marxism, and its due consequences have brought giant losses to our cause.” “Personal worship does bring great harm to our literature.” “Bizarre phenomena that appeared in the literature, such as no conflict theory, whitewashing reality, carefree and idyllic description of the reality, are all related to personal worship” (as cited in LIN, 1999, p. 50). After the 20th Congress, the rehabilitation of writers continued, and a large number of young writers emerged, their clear consciousness and mind contributing a lot to the campaign of “Unfreeze Literature”. The literary creation during this period were improved in quality and quantity, enriching the cultural life of the people, and sending the literature into a more prosperous development stage.

### The Impact of “Unfreeze Literature” on “Baihua Literature”

In 1952, the ninth issue of *Wenyi Bao* (*Literary Gazette*) re-published two articles: “Overcoming the Backwardness of Literature and Art” on the April 7 issue of *Pravda*, and “Failing the People” on the April 8 issue of *Literary Newspaper*, taking the lead in bringing into China the literary thoughts of “anti-conflict-free theory” and whitewashing life. At the end of 1954, the second Writers’ Congress of the former Soviet Union became an important symbol of all-round development of “Unfreeze literature”. Chinese writers also attached great importance to this event, republishing the meeting report with the fastest speed on important journals in China. Hence, China also began to review the errors in her work. MAO Ze-dong also realized that criticism must be carried out on the problems arising from the work. On the National Congress of the Communist Party of China held in March 1955, he pointed out that “given the shortcomings and mistakes in our work, a public criticism and self-criticism must be carried out” (as cited in ZHANG, 1957, p. 105). On April 5, 1956, *People’s Daily* published an editorial entitled “Historical Experience of the Proletariat Dictatorship”, which pointed out that there still existed bureaucracy and dogmatism in our country. As for bureaucracy, the editorial said:

Due to the various forms of bureaucracy, the leaders and staffs of our party and our country are apt to abuse their power, isolate themselves from the masses as well as the collective leadership, practice authoritarianism, and destroy the party and the country’s democracy, which is a very dangerous situation.” (as cited in ZHANG, 1957, p. 105)

At the enlarged meeting of the political bureau of the Central Committee and the 17th meeting of supreme state conference on April 28, 1956, MAO said: “The principle of letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend should be our policy. Let the flowers of art blossom, and schools of academic thought contend” (as cited in Fromm, 1987, p. 353). On March 12, 1957, he further put forward that the principle should apply to all walks of life. He said, “The principle is not only a good way of developing science and art, if promoted to more fields, it is also a good method of doing all the work. This method can help us reduce our mistakes” (as cited in ZHAO, 1980, p. 415).

Under the inspiration of “Unfreeze Literature” of the former Soviet Union and the principle of “letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend”, some Chinese writers started to learn from the “Unfreeze” writers of the former Soviet Union, attacking bureaucracy and dogmatism head-on. In China, QIN Zhao-yang (1916-1994), editor of *People’s Literature* and HUANG Qiu-yun (1918-2001), editor of *Literary Study* were also doing the same thing. QIN Zhao-yang selected and published a series of novels that contained fierce criticism of bureaucracy and dogmatism. These novels bore great similarities with the “Unfreeze Literature” stories of the former Soviet Union. They described a group of idealistic, talented young people with communist ideal, who fought with indifferent, inefficient, and timid bureaucrats. QIN Zhao-yang had a group of good writers working for him, such as LIU Bin-yan (1925-2005), WANG Meng (1934- ), LIU Shao-tang (1936-1997), who deemed it their duty to criticize bureaucracy and dogmatism. In 1956, the famous anti-bureaucracy novel *On the Working Site of a Bridge* by LIU Bin-yan was carried on the 4th issue of *People’s Literature*. In the editor’s note QIN Zhao-yang wrote: “We’ve been expecting such critical and ironic features in writing for a long time” (as cited in LIU, 1985, p. 34).

LIU Bin-yan’s two novels *On the Working Site of a Bridge* (1956) and *Inside Information of Our Paper* (1956) uncovered the prelude of “Baihua Literature”. The topics of the literary works during this period of time

were very common in daily life after the founding of the People's Republic of China, but no writers so far dared to write about them. So the phenomenon caused quite a sensation among the readers, who were so excited to read about the truth. After that, an abundant literary works directed at bureaucracy and dogmatism sprang up one after another, among which the most distinguished one was WANG Meng's novel called *The Young Newcomer of the Organization Department*, published on the 9th issue of *People's Literature* in 1956. At the same time, the field of literary criticism also had a strong outcry against bureaucracy and dogmatism.

### **The Innate Deficiency of “Baihua Literature” and Its Final “Destination”**

Unfortunately, the “unfreeze” trend of the Communist literature policy failed to hold out. To reduce the worries of Soviet Communist Party leaders and to be more beneficial to the development of “Unfreeze Literature”, “unfreeze” writers assured the Central Government of the Soviet Communist Party at the second Congress of Russian Federation Writers held from March 3 to 7, 1965, that they were able to oppose to Stalinism more violently on the premise that they were not against Leninism. The field of Chinese art and literature, on the contrary, was not that fortunate. The incidents happened in Poland and Hungary in the second half of 1956 and the student unrest like Shijiazhuang of Hebei, Hanyang of Hubei at the end of 1956 and the first half of 1957 greatly changed MAO's attitude toward “Baihua Literature”, which further changed his literary thought later on. Also, international and domestic tensions added to the nervousness of MAO, who had always been in war state. After the enforcement of “Double hundred policy”, he argued, not only did “fragrant flowers” appear, but also the “poisonous weeds” among the literary works. The fierce criticisms made by “Baihua Literature” toward bureaucracy and dogmatism led to MAO's conviction that they were not conducive to the socialist construction, or to consolidation of the leadership of the Communist Party, thus they became the “poisonous weeds” that must be got rid of.

Besides the sudden change of political winds, the innate deficiency of “Baihua Literature” itself explained why it would not go any further. The writers at that time were often too straightforward to express their view of a certain social problem, and too eager to take literature as a weapon to promote social process. As a result, their works tended to restrict themselves to the interpretation of such social problems as bureaucracy, and failed to observe more carefully people's variation and dehumanization under the erosion of bureaucratic ideas. Their novel explored bureaucratic obstruction of national construction and the damage on people's material interests from a political perspective, but seldom covered the harm of bureaucracy on the people themselves. As an important part of the humanitarian, concepts like “human nature” and “humanity” were narrowly understood and classified as simple emotion. They were completely stripped away from the politics, and were even criticized as a key reflection of bourgeois emotion. Humanitarian ideas were simplified as sovereignty consciousness and the proletarian class emotion, whereas the other rich connotations in it were suspended. Therefore, without fully understanding the humanitarian ideas, the Chinese writers were mostly limited to the criticism of political thought when they were revealing the dark side of the society, which also affected the development of literary theme. With the fleet of “hundred blossoms” era, writers of “Baihua Literature” failed to care for people's inner world, as they were too eager to reflect social contradictions. Compared with the works of “Unfreeze Literature”, those of “Baihua Literature” had relatively monotonous aesthetic style.

### Conclusions

“Baihua Literature” strove to break through the original creation model of formulation and generalization, but since China’s traditional humanistic ideas were much less profound than those of the former Soviet Union, Chinese writers failed to understand humanitarian ideas, for they were still restricted by the political context. On the other hand, the relative scarcity of mental resources of Chinese writers, and their total breakdown with Western culture destined that writers of “Baihua Literature” were still unable to shoulder the mission of pushing the “seventeen-year literature” out to the surface. Hence, there existed a huge gap between the works of “Baihua Literature” and those masterpieces of “Unfreeze Literature” both in terms of the theme and the artistic expression.

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# Semiotic and Dance: An Analysis of the Ballet *Nazareth*

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This paper is a proposal of analyzing Grupo Corpo Dance Company's ballet *Nazareth*, on video. The work represents intersemiotic translation of the literature by Machado de Assis, as the stories *Um Homem Célebre* (*A Famous Man*) and *Terpsícore* (*Terpsichore*), to adapting to the music of Ernesto Nazareth by José Miguel Wisnik and therefore to the dance of Rodrigo Pederneiras, the choreographer. In this study, what is important is how the different languages, such as literature and music, are suitable for the dance's spectacle. Thereby, Peirce's semiotics, conceptions of translation of the Brazilian poet Haroldo de Campos and the concept of *corpomídia* ("bodymedia") developed by teachers Helena Katz and Christine Greiner (Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo) are the main theoretical tools of analysis. Creating a legitimate form of contemporary dance, this proposal of ballet *Nazareth*'s lecture begins about the first chapter's "rhizomatic" ramifications for the seven others transformed by excellence in Grupo Corpo's choreographic language.

**Keywords:** semiotic, dance, *Nazareth*, Grupo Corpo

## Introduction

This work seeks to analyze, from the semiotic bias, the Grupo Corpo Dance Company's *Nazareth* ballet, on video. It is noteworthy that this spectacle was built by a translation process that involved different artistic codes, or languages, such as literature, music, and dance.

In the show, the work of the honored Ernesto Nazareth (1863-1934), a musician and composer of "Brazilian tangos", is also adapted to the dance musician by José Miguel Wisnik (1948- ), songwriter and now teaches in the area of literature at the USP (University of São Paulo), which accomplishes this feat approaching writing music. Wisnik recreated the works of Ernesto Nazareth with also writer Carioca Brazilian Machado de Assis's (1839-1908) some literature references, which is highlighted in this paper the tales *Um Homem Célebre* (*A Famous Man*, 1883) and *Terpsícore* (*Terpsichore*, 1886) for the musical adaptation directed to the Grupo Corpo ballet.

The dance spectacle follows the same line of work when the choreographer of the group, Rodrigo Pederneiras, does a process of dance creation with links between the method of Wisnik composition—also based on Machado's writing—and the process of choreographic creating. Each choreography or music earns the title of the soundtrack intended. That is, each choreography or music presents entitlement "double", or rather, having, for the most part, two nominations for each composition: one corresponding to the Wisnik adaptation and the other referring to the original music of Ernesto Nazareth. In the work, 10 titles in all organized into seven chapters which are proposed to examine the first chapter's "rhizomatic" ramifications for the seven others transformed in

the Grupo Corpo's choreographic language by excellence. Its first titles are matched by *The Polka* (musical adaptation of "Cross, Peril!") and *Waltz* (on "Improvisation of Concert").

In this case, agreeing with the words of Santaella (2002), when she says: "... the semiotic application calls for dialogue with more specific theories of processes of signs that are being examined" (the author's translation, p. VI). As soon as, beyond the Peirce's semiotics theoretical tool are used too for analyzing the dance archived on video the "creative transposition" concept by Campos (1970) and the *corpomídia*<sup>1</sup> concept by Katz and Greiner (2005). Considering this fact, we also emphasize on this type of audiovisual production: a filmed dance occurred in the last time (in 1995). According to Valeska (2010), it appears in another genre that involves, by definition, a translation process between the linguistic codes of ballet and the film, concluding that dance video has a heterogeneous language, since its hybrid character.

### **Irradiations of the First Caption: *The Polka* ("Cross, Peril!")**

"Cross, Peril!" (1879) is an original "autodidact" track composed by Ernesto Nazareth when he was around his age of 15. A "Brazilian tango" was partitioned by José Miguel Wisnik in two different "motives". Wisnik realized that when it comes to the first cell of the song with the left hand, you get one, similar to European music, such as polka, that is more marked with rhythm or more tonal genre. The second musical cell of the right hand resonates more the *maxixe* swing, that is the more atonal part of the musical rhythm with the African syncopation. In the words of the literary musician Wisnik (2008) this fact constitutes or gives the identity to own *maxixe* songs:

... Coexists the *maxixe* rhythm one motive batting in octaves in the right hand, in the second part, the melody, headless of the first sixteenth musical compass, values displacement the second and sixteenth syncopation and suggests the unmistakable usual's the *maxixe*. (Wisnik, 2008, p. 36, the author's translation)

This is an interesting way to engage with the *corpomídia* concept of this work, as well with the notion of "body" concerned. In other words, there is a "semiotic body" beyond the limits of flesh to be transfigured into a signic tub related senses. Within this idea of "body" is appropriated *corpomidia* idea on the reciprocal traffic movement of the information in flow "inside and outside" of this body which transforms through a process of change, or evolutionary, as more properly the *corpomídia* concept is referred to, and how also gives the quote below:

There is no one so fit to be demonstrated as a means for evolution to occur. (...) Body is medium, nothing more than a temporary result of agreements whose history goes back a few million years. There is a continuous flow of information being processed by the environment and the bodies that are in it. Thus, the processing becomes a prerequisite. (Katz, 2003, p. 263, the author's translation)

All this movement of meanings can also be seen in the way the musician Wisnik composed the score for the ballet *Nazareth*, that is specifically about the beginning of the first chapter generating the "musical motives" translated to the dance by choreographer Rodrigo Pederneiras. In this process, a game of opposite senses or "tensions" can be observed between many elements such as: polka/the *maxixe*; tap the right hand/left hand; the *maxixe* swing/classic technique ballet and so on. These opposites' relations introduce the "mirrored senses" metaphor in this analysis. In this case, the mirror means not projection of an inverted image, but, mainly,

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<sup>1</sup> The term means "bodymedia" written by teachers of the Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo.

associated senses that form an “all” integrated in the audiovisual artistic work.

This same idea also gets a contextual relationship with Machado’s tale, the contemporary music of Ernesto Nazareth, *Um Homem Célebre* (*A Famous Man*). In this tale, the main character, “Pestana”, is a musician and celebrated, or “famous” for his compositions of polka, a rhythm originating from Bohemia to spread across Europe, but becoming more typical of Brazilian lascivious life, or, as in the tale, also present in Rio de Janeiro soirees of the late 19th century, as can be seen in the following quote:

Came of the piano wiping his brow with his handkerchief. And would go to the window, when the girl stopped him. There was dancing, just an intimate soiree, few people, twenty people in all who had gone to dinner with the widow Camargo, Areal Street, that day of her birthday, November 05, 1875 ... Good and plump widow! She loved laughter and plays (...). With the soul and diligence got him there a few dances (...), the widow requested a homage to the Pestana very particular: I want that us touch now that his polka *Não Bula Comigo, Nhonhô!* (“Not Me Bullying, Nhonhô!”). (Assis, 2007, p. 417, the author’s translation)

However, the musician dreamed of being recognized as a composer of classical music, or to compose music close to their icons idols who he considered high European strain, as Mozart. Outraged in just getting composed polkas, the personage finds himself immersed in that creative crisis, revealing his existential problem generated by an against point that occurs in a constant game of antithesis and synthesis.

Thus, it is seen that the relations of synthesis and antithesis are greatly present in Machado tale, like in ballet *Nazareth*. At this time, relations of meaning are noticed as regards the concept of “creative transposition” by Campos (1970). This can be observed about translation of the literary universe to the dance when checked the costumes in on the scene. It is observed signic contrasts between the costumes colors in black and white. In other words, the ballerina’s colors costume in “black and white” form a synthesis and antithesis of meanings iconicity and indexicality, as is conferred in Figure 1:



Figure 1. The contrast of colors in the costumes of the dancer. Source: Adapted from Corpo, 1995, DVD *Nazareth*, 10'26".



The ballerina's colors costume in "black and white" can represent in iconic and indexical semiotic aspect the colors of the piano key, and the Ernesto Nazareth pianist or personages of Machado de Assis literature as Pestana. This colors signs can arouse, for example, a fruition of the ballet music. The same way when referring to the ballerina's moves can develop sense relations with the instrument "piano" too. It is not only as meaning existential, but as cultural convention from a historical symbolic relationship of the Brazil. The piano was a musical instrument very present in the Brazilian culture of the 19th century and an element of modernization representation that the country lived in eras of post-abolitionism of slavery. About this fact Wisnik (2008) portrayed:

The astonishing fact is then the piano to replace, in part, as a commodity fetish, a slave how own merchandise, putting yourself in the place of this as if denied at the same time promoting the relocation of the transit of capital, contributing to connect them to the early centers. (p. 66, the author's translation)

Just as the "piano" is also a "key" of the story itself *Um Homem Célebre (A Famous Man)* instrument, besides other works Machado as in the tale "Trio in La minor" and the novel "Jacob and Esau", these works also permeate the construction of spectacle analyzed. It is also important to detach the honored renowned Brazilian pianist Ernesto Nazareth in the ballet whose personal identity is not separated of his working tool: the piano.

Other evidence also emphasizes the idea spelled out by the semiotic potential of the costume is in "tension" relationship between the lines drawn by the movements of the body of the dancer and the ways that lead to "reflect" when at the same time has a connexion between how their movements are conducted. These movements seem to merge the earnest craft of a pianist, but also bring a sense of joy and casualness for the dancer's body over the pulsed stimuli in the musical pace.

As soon, to the rhythm of "trans-creation" kinetic *literature-music-dance* has a signic indexical relation on the first choreography of the ballet *Nazareth*. In this dance one ballerina doing moves with yours wrists and fingers in frequent breaks that may refer a person playing the piano.

The ballerina dances a solo for two musical phrases, and this fact also increases the solar indexical semiotic dimension related to the fact playing the piano. It is noteworthy also that the pianist takes an individualistic profession, marked only by dialogue established between the musician and his instrument work. As well as, quali-iconic signs of the Peirce's semiotics are observed as the dancer to isolate themselves in a scene composed just for her. In this moment of the ballet, there is not definition of the lighting. It is initially demarcated only on ballerina's body and blackout in other spaces onstage. This fact also intends to show the figure of pianist who will be portrayed throughout the ballet.

In addition, the piano itself is an instrument from Italian origin. In this way brought to Brazil with it a range of values considered noble to society of the time since the early 20th century, according to Wisnik (2008): "Piano brings a prestigious piece of Europe (...)" (p. 42, the author's translation). Furthermore, the piano symbolic was transformed by the dynamics of folkways observing an interweaving of the musical repertoire of ballroom and of concert.

In ballet *Nazareth* this issue is contained by the constitution of mixed choreography language of Grupo Corpo through the process of hybridization between different genres of dance evoking simultaneously the popular dance and classical ballet. These different genres of the dance were transformed by Rodrigo Pederneiras

choreographer in a third genre: the contemporary dance. He recreated the *maxixe* dance through the syncopation of the musical swing, but using the ballet technique. In other words, similar the music process, the choreographer merges the ballroom dances—like the *maxixe*—and dances of concert—as ballet. This hybrid movement is underpinned by cultural antithesis generated in between these extremes genres of dance—ballroom and concert—that come together to make this work, generating a next set of mirrors.

On a more intrinsic look at the scene, this first chapter of the show, while the dancer performs at the beginning of the choreography intermittent little hops and hip movements, as quavers, own the *maxixe* type nod, also makes frequent external rotation of the right foot in back bending and flexing knees, typical of traditional samba. At the same time, the ballerinas accomplishes movements exuding body lanky lines, constant gyrations, hops, *port de bras* (arms' movements of the ballet) and others classical ballet steps, as well as unique and original combinations of movements with arms and legs: a fully contemporary dance.

It is realized, however, different sign systems being intersected at the same time in the choreography for the creation of choreographic Grupo Corpo's language emphasizing again the hybrid aspect in terms of gestural meaning that making present (It is indexically) the distinct artistic movements and different body codes, such as samba, the *maxixe*, and classical ballet.

Then one realizes clearly a relationship between the senses mirrored literature, music, sets and costumes through a network of signs creating mirrored reflections senses. In this context, or "environment", the logic of the concept of communicative *corpomídia* praises instance in dialogic relation, that is, with the "other" (in plural), since the perceived direction of motion of the body of the dancer that makes up the process discursive scene.

Therefore, the outstanding evidence generated in this first title of the first chapter of the series is the antithesis and synthesis senses in a situation of opposites that unifies. And this situation is irradiated by the other seven chapters of the spectacle.

There is also evident lecture which these signic relationships marked by synthesis and antithesis "reflecting" the transit of events in changes or transformations present in Grupo Corpo's dance meets also the carnivalization's aesthetics as proposed by Bakhtin (1997) in *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics*:

The carnivalesque thinking is also present in the field of the latest issues, not showing for these, however, clear abstract or dogmatic religious—philosophical solution, but interpreting them in concrete—sensory form of shares and carnival images. Therefore, carnivalization allowed by carnival worldview, download the latest issues of abstract philosophical level to the concrete level of sensory images and events, carnivalistic dynamic, diverse and alive. (p. 115, the author's translation)

Exemplifies this relationship the categories carnivalization, as it is called by the author, when it prioritizes the ambivalent nature of the carnivalesque images that "encompass the two fields of change and crisis" (Bakhtin, 1997, p. 108, the author's translation). This can be observed and related to the choreographic aspects in this ballet, i.e., "the peer files, selected in accordance with the contrast (high-low, full-empty, etc.) and similarity (doubles-twins)": the elements of category carnivalization also present at the dance. This presents the relationship within the overall context of the work generated by the representation of the senses in the synthesis and antithesis, marketed as a game of mirrors, as already said.

### Specification of the Title *Waltz* (“Improvisation of Concert”)

In this title, a specificity is the dance of the ballerina that is similar a “goat mix and the Swan” as said Wisnik in Nazareth DVD. Agreement with the same correspondence, *Terpsícore* (*Terpsichore*), Machado’s story, forward character dance of Glória, seems as quoted: “From the Street Porfirio satyrs dug his eyes, followed in his agile, elegant and sensual movements, mixing goat and swan” (Assis, 2007, p. 402, the author’s translation). This dance does a movement with the music which reflected in a trend towards slower movements in faster time music, and the opposite occurs, when it tends to make quick movements in a more slow soundtrack.

These elements also shoot at the level of semiotic iconicity, a sense of “sublime” about the transitions between the titles *The Polka* and *Waltz*, as the latter title begins almost imperceptible, because there is no short musical break and not interrupting the preceding scene, only prolongs. The parties really make a whole, but are slow musical tempo by previous brief interruption.

Thus, observing the transition and the sequence between The Polka and Waltz titles, perceives a constant “return” of events, actions and the intentions of gestures, repetitions of movements, and choreographic drawings. An example is how choreographer Rodrigo Pederneiras uses the dancers’ body with the many turns, twists and shifts according to their periphery of the body maintaining the fixed centre. In the same way, there are similar situations in this work which can also configure the poetic body created by the *corpomídia* concept as proposed by Katz and Greiner (2005). In this sense, this concept is presented as an idea to support the understanding of choreographic movements with regard the aesthetics of the constant “return”. This is possible because that concept also refers to the sense of “mirrored relationships”, or dialogical relations between one and others (in plural) in this work.

As soon as the semiotic movement in this context is provided by the flow of the senses that occurs through the “fusion” of events in movement. This is the condition of a constant “return” that leads to another sense and transforming the meaning of a same sign. This provided mobility for some scenic reason or viewpoint, on the same idea of the representation of mirror aesthetics forming senses in spiral, i.e., forming “mirrors spiral” as the category of carnivalization by Bakhtin (1997) also provides.

In this sense, the “mirrors spiral” reflects on the reading to give importance to what is mediating, or rather the interface dialogical relationship between two or more “bodies” or “signs” that communicate. The relations of meaning occur now not only in opposition, but in “double mirroring” marked by the presence of a single sign that is repeated, nevertheless with different meaning, transformed. Then, that forms a constant “return”, or “mirrors spiral” it tends to infinity of meanings. Thus, “white and black” or “black and white” to read what matters is the “and”, or rather, the linking the two together on the same level of significance of the ballet *Nazareth*.

Although these senses mirrors spiral radiate throughout the work, this second title of the first chapter ends by cutting video editing. This occurs when the screen covers the entire framework in which men and women dancing together for a continuous swing of the hips and arms. At the same time, there is to the approximation of the camera until the scene closes to focus on a single image that is considered the allegory of the musical genre *maxixe* and allegory of romance: “a rose” of the scenery. This scene emphasizes “mirrored” or dialogical relationship between choreography, costumes, music, and scenery as put in this work. Moreover, not represents an end, but the direction for a *continuum*.

## Conclusions

At any rate, this proposal analysis shown by the characters of the *Nazareth*'s first chapter has reflected in all spectacle. Furthermore, the “mirrors in opposite, in duplicate or spiral” observed still reflecting in the trial of this ballet as a contemporary legitimate form of dance. This shape a *continuum* of meanings reflected throughout the dance and translates itself the Grupo Corpo's choreographic language.

In this context, the “body” by issuing virtual dance on video is taken as a sign or as a semiotic body, possessing the iconic, indexical, and symbolic instances in the space of representation. This “space” is the relationship between the “organic body” of the dancer with the “other” in the plural, i.e., with scenario, costumes, lighting, music, and more.

So polyphony or dialogical relationship of “I” with the “other” (plural), which is the dimension of communication shows that the semiosis of meaning happens to the endless possibilities of reading in a “body” that is allowed to penetrate the screen, then develop spatiotemporal evidence of signs in an audiovisual dimension.

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## **US-China Foreign Language**

Volume 12, Number 5, May 2014

David Publishing Company

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